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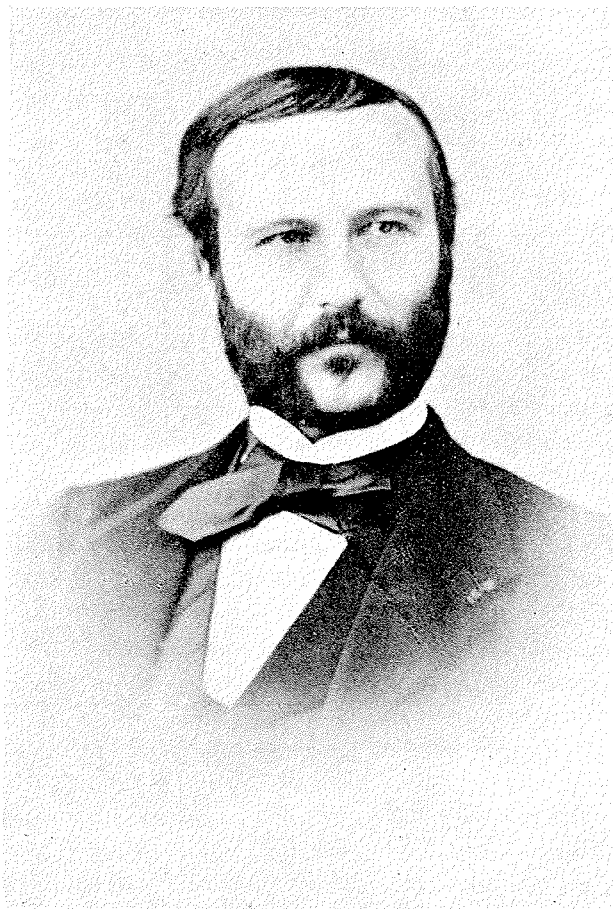
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150th ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF HENRY DUNANT
(1828-1910)



HENRY DUNANT
at the time of the Geneva Conferences (1863, 1864)
*Unpublished photo, with a dedication to Dr. Rutherford,
United Kingdom delegate to the Geneva Conference.
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In the service of the Red Cross

by J.-G. Lossier

Two events of current interest give us cause to ponder on the significance of service to the Red Cross, the Red Crescent and the Red Lion and Sun. The first is the adoption by the twenty-third International Red Cross Conference, which met recently in Bucharest, of a resolution on the "Mission of the Red Cross"; the other is the commemoration this year of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Henry Dunant's birth. On this 8th of May, however, World Red Cross Day will not only be devoted as in the past to the memory of Dunant, but also to the activities throughout the world of the voluntary workers in the institution which he founded, and their work for the promotion of peace. The resolution in question underlines the "extreme importance" of the work carried out by National Societies "in the encouragement of social responsibility and voluntary service among their members".

In this connection, it should be mentioned that the people who work for voluntary organizations are offered the opportunity to give to others, by their action, something more precious than gold: namely, the demonstration that the spirit of devotion and of communion actually exists in our society and that it is a force of considerable efficacy for shaping the world to come for future generations. Such voluntary organizations are strongest and best recognized when they constitute well-disciplined bodies and call upon voluntary workers to undertake tasks only when they have provided them with the necessary preparation and support. Their members need to feel that they represent an essential part of a body doing a useful piece of work and they judge

the Red Cross in the light of the quality and value of the job proposed to them. That is why it is necessary that every person should be conscious of the motives behind his action of assistance and why the institution itself must bring its message up to date and make clear its meaning.

An enduring example

Henry Dunant lived long enough to witness the extraordinary development of the institution with which his name is associated today, for at the time of his death in 1910 the Red Cross had already become a world-wide movement.

The crucial event in Dunant's life was Solferino. His was truly an incredible experience: there he was, an ordinary civilian, striding along the edge of the field of battle, nobody stopping him until, finally, he was accompanied by a whole group of soldiers and even officers turned into improvised nurses. The story does not end there; it was continued at Castiglione in the Chiesa Maggiore where hundreds of wounded were lying without care or succour. Dunant prevailed upon the doctors and medical orderlies to help him and it was he who led and organized his small team, issued orders, kindled their zeal and, day and night, served, by his fervent devotion, as an example to all. The crowning achievement of the whole episode was when Dunant, who had himself no title or mandate of any kind, got Austrian prisoners to tend French wounded. Some years later, from this contact with human wretchedness, he brought forth his book, *A Memory of Solferino*, which was to stir the consciences of so many people of the nineteenth century, so ready to respond to lofty humanitarian appeals.

Everything in Dunant, his idealism as much as his active belief, contributed to instil in him an unqualified faith in his own work. But this belief was not dogmatic, it brushed aside distinctions and shades of opinion; it was the kind of belief that moved mountains, and it remained alive until the very last days of his life, notwithstanding disappointments and humiliations. This explains why—the particular time and place being also propitious—the movement which he founded expanded so rapidly and why its power to replenish its forces is so strong.

He was truly a man of vision, as was apparent in particular when he submitted to a Berlin congress such a novel and daring proposal as

to attribute neutrality to the wounded and sick members of armed forces in the field. This stroke of genius was to give birth to the Geneva Convention of 1864. Florence Nightingale, too, had considered such a move, but she was thinking primarily in national terms, while for Henry Dunant no agreement was possible save at international level. His eyes refused to distinguish between casualties belonging to this or to that nation; he only saw men who all belonged to a common world of suffering. His idealism, too, showed when, long before air bombings, he advised placing wounded soldiers who were no longer able to fight, together with civilians, into specially designated security zones. His imagination ran riot with ideas of world associations, uniting all men of good will whose voices would be raised in all parts of the world. At times, he spoke of his plans before a mere handful of listeners, but no matter! he continued to orate. An idealist, yes; but certainly not a utopist, as some people said.

He preserved in his inner self a true innocence, the capacity to believe that his dreams could be transformed into real life, and for him the word "impossible" did not exist. A man other than Dunant might have uttered that word to himself as he stood on the plain of Solferino, at the sight of the blood-stained battlefield that stretched before his eyes; he might have thought that it was "impossible" to offer the slightest form of help when everything was lacking: doctors, nurses, water, dressings; that it was of no use even to attempt to alleviate the suffering of a single soldier, when thirty thousand others all around him were dying, their life ebbing out slowly from their wounds. But Dunant did not allow such thoughts to halt his impulses; they did not even cross his mind. For him, there was nothing that was impossible, because he was carried away by his compassion for his fellow-men; there was nothing that could be useless, because he grievously felt the deep solidarity which binds the fortunate to those in misery, the hale and hearty to the maimed, the living to the dying.

Dunant's example has remained alive: the enormous disproportion of the vast humanitarian tasks that have to be done to the meagre resources available to complete them should not put us off. Every person's intrinsic worth counts. To save the life of a single wounded man, the five members of an ambulance team have to put their own lives in peril. Dunant deeply felt that brotherly love for his fellow-men

which impels men, disregarding all reason, to extend a helping hand to any human being in need, were there still thousands of other victims nearby.

Work within the Red Cross

The mind is easily led astray by large numbers. In a world where the hitherto predominant hierarchy of values is changing very rapidly and where so many notions become of relative significance, the Red Cross adheres to the same unchanging idea, which it considers possesses a constant and indisputable value, the idea of respect for every human being, irrespective of race, religious belief or political opinions. The corollary to this concept is the notion of giving help, without taking into account who the sufferer may be, only seeing the countenance of someone in pain. This leads us to still another idea, that of the solidarity that binds all men, and it is precisely at this fountainhead that the Red Cross draws its inspiration and distributes its living waters, which is why it is so important for future generations.

In practice, its worth is equivalent to that of the people who serve in the Red Cross and who can, by their stand or by their actions, either strengthen it in the eyes of the world or do mischief to it. In the latter case, they not only do harm to the institution, but also to the principles guiding it.

In the humanitarian organizations some duties are bureaucratic. One must therefore look beyond one's daily task, raise its general significance, however humble and however lacking in utility it may seem, and integrate it in the image of a better civilization which we are helping to build with our small contribution.

Moreover, because this work always concerns human issues, the Red Cross worker brings a little of his personal life into his occupation. The more society becomes industrialized, the more we are surrounded by faceless bureaucrats, and so the service, wherever it might be, which we accept to do in the name of humanity will have to be fed on spiritual food. Furthermore, it will have to be performed by men and women sufficiently endowed morally to *give*, in a world, governed by statistics and computers, in which too often the rule is to give no more than is received.

There is no denying the fact that the task is a difficult one and that it is impossible to perform it successfully without continually spurring oneself on to greater efforts. Because of its moral implications, it is different from the task pursued in any other enterprise. Working for a humanitarian institution means we must justify the task undertaken—first of all to ourselves—by its humanity; must be aware of our solidarity with all people; must feel that the life of every person has a bearing on our own and that we must be ready at all times.

At whatever level one may be, even at the lowest, one's work is found to have some influence, not only because, as in a machine, all its parts are necessary for it to function properly, but above all, because in a humanitarian institution precisely the human worth of its employees is of great importance. At any step, each one brings his tribute to the Red Cross ideal, each one continually endeavours to maintain deep within himself the strength to continue his task, notwithstanding the contradictions which events seem to present.

While the Red Cross worker sets his faith in humanity and in its protection, newspapers, radio and television programmes are full of examples of hatred and discord. While he struggles—by his everyday work—for peace and for a world where brotherhood should be the rule, he is beset by noises of war. It is necessary that he should continue his work in spite of everything, he must persevere, for if he has no faith in the highest forces for the gradual instauration of a better world, then his place is not in the Red Cross.

An aspect of humanitarian service

The world of morals is indivisible. Too often, modern man no longer notices that he must make a whole of his life, that everything in this field holds together and that one cannot be faithful here and unfaithful there. Thus, all humanitarian work differs from other social activities, by its very nature and by the authority which it claims for itself.

It is important that certain tasks still exist, performed by people who are sensitive to the peculiar quality and value of their daily work. In work performed as an act of faith in an ideal, productivity is not among the main objects to be pursued, nor are high results or performances: it is the fact that the dignity of every person should be respected.

Work done in the service of the Red Cross, performed in this kind of spirit, is precisely an act of faith.

True, it is possible to get through one's tasks as in any office or in any factory. Everything would continue all the same, and nobody would perhaps notice any difference. But work done in this way would no longer be invested with the moral quality necessary for it to be truly humanitarian. It would merely demonstrate an ordinary sort of efficiency, current in all well-run enterprises. No *more*. But it is precisely this *extra* effort which is demanded from us. Because this *extra* quality indicates that Red Cross work is considered to be a service.

A nurse can very well tend her patients by putting into practice no more than the methods she was taught. But that *extra* quality which will turn her into a good nurse, into a true nurse, is "more soul", as Bergson might have put it ("un supplément d'âme"); this nurse knows, then, that she does not exercise her profession with the sole aim of earning her living but—and this is the *extra* quality which gives a meaning to her life—of serving others. It is not a matter involving just machines, syringes, paper and what have you besides, but human beings in physiological or moral distress.

Thus, certain institutions like the Red Cross, for example, give us the possibility to fulfil ourselves better, by our devotion to a cause to which we pin our faith and devote our taste for adventure.

Renewing one's energy

When we feel the desire to participate in something which is beyond us, we sense the need for communion, and the act of service towards our fellowmen constitutes one of the means to fulfil that need. Should we not, then, seek within ourselves the pervading reasons which urge us to serve? For it may happen that our giving may find its origin in poverty and not in richness. When we feel weak and doubtful, we find, in giving, the opportunity to justify ourselves, to escape by a gift which in such a case is nothing more than a pretext.

But it is important that it should be otherwise, especially in humanitarian works. There should exist at the start true richness. If not, there will always be a disparity between the gifts we make to others and those we receive from them. To put it briefly, it should not be by way of compensating for something that we serve, but by a deep impulse;

by a recognition of the inextinguishable source of energy represented by the determination to serve. We must always know why we serve, why we give, and finally, why we live, always seeking the origin of our commitments on this earth !

*

The German philosopher Herder referred to humaneness as a quality which is not given to us once and for all; we have to prove its existence every day of our life. This implies that we have to give constant proof of our humaneness by humanitarian action. Therefore, if we want to come out victorious in the struggle against discouragement—that enemy which is permanently with us—we must first discover our own selves in order to get to know those of others. Otherwise, we are liable to be guilty of “activism”, action at all costs, to mask the emptiness inside ourselves. On the other hand, to have a large fund of internal experience is to be generous, to want others to take part in it. One of the most valid manifestations of this generosity is to stretch out one’s hands. Simultaneously, a whole ethic of service, mutual respect and tolerance is spun around our actions.

Of course, each one of us takes part in humanitarian work in accordance with his own concept of the world; each one contributes to it by drawing inspiration from his religion, thought and personal ideals. At the same time, perhaps the greatest good fortune for Red Cross workers is to keep in contact with life and with their fellowmen.

It is true that the scientific and technical civilization, of which gradually all countries are becoming a part, offers constantly new opportunities for humanitarian service. But, nowadays, such service is made up of both reason and sentiment, of both technique and the heart. Technique can then become a sort of screen, and in the end it is no longer brought alive by generosity. Good technical preparation is of course necessary, for the heart alone is not enough in the times we live in, when tasks have to be executed within vast structures in order to be efficacious.

But results expressed in figures are not the concern of the Red Cross. It is the human aspect in which it is interested. A single man saved, among a hundred thousand others in peril, is sufficient justification for Red Cross intervention. One should not attempt to apply to the Red Cross the logic of reason, of the greatest possible yield. That is why

humanitarian work has something special about it in the world of today, something which somehow goes against contemporary utilitarian trends.

Voluntary service and the community

State morality clashes in some respects with Red Cross ethics. By their very nature, States act in accordance with different criteria. But if the Red Cross, faced with State requirements, wishes to be the defender of man standing alone, helpless, it must keep ahead of the State; it must go ahead courageously, using a practical and constantly alert imagination. The growing intrusion of States in the social sphere raises problems for the private organizations which have so often prepared the way by their enterprise.

It is essential that voluntary relief should continue. By adapting itself to constantly new tasks, it has retained its *raison d'être*. For, in truth, there is nothing that can take the place of voluntary assistance. It constitutes a moral capital and the possibility for many, in a harsh and unfamiliar world, to bring brotherly aid, and it provides unceasingly renewed possibilities for the practice of mutual help. In this way, one moves from a narrow solidarity to a wider solidarity. By fighting against isolation and lack of understanding, those two scourges of our epoch, we diminish, too, the aggressivity produced by them.

Moreover, voluntary aid movements exert a growing influence on social policies and become means for citizens to participate in the matter-of-fact existence of the community to which they belong. Besides, the imperatives of Red Cross service, whether paid or unpaid, do not change and in all cases claim the same qualities of character and open-mindedness.

The ever-greater spread of technology in all its forms causes changes in society and enables new problems of organization to be more swiftly solved. But the more rapid general evolution which it generates increases the number and size of social conflicts and internal struggles. It becomes more difficult to control the dynamic impulse of technological progress except by a more active participation of primarily voluntary bodies. Private help, which will supplement to a large extent the State's social policy, will fulfil certain tasks relating to pacification and to the settlement of conflicts within society.

For the Red Cross, voluntary service will retain all its meaning in periods of hostilities, whether international or national. It makes no distinction between friends and enemies, and the people working under one of its three distinctive emblems do not look further than the relief which they have to bring to the victims. Thus, in the midst of hatred and war, they radiate an atmosphere of peace.¹

The meaning of these considerations on service and its significance for the Red Cross may be further clarified and illustrated by an anecdote told by the Mexican poet Torres-Bodet.

A man gave his seven-year-old child a puzzle, consisting of a large map of the world torn into several pices. The father told the boy not to leave his playroom until he had put the map together again. A few minutes later, the child came along with the map correctly completed. How did he manage to get it done so quickly? The answer was simple enough, for the map had been printed on a sheet of paper on the other side of which there was the picture of a man standing. The boy had only a vague notion of geography, but to re-assemble the pieces of the map, he had called upon something much more familiar: the outline of a human being.

Just as the child had re-created the map of the world by looking at the figure of a man, so, for those who serve the Red Cross, it is by looking towards man—by rebuilding his life and restoring his health and his dignity—that they may contribute to the readjustment of the moral composition of the world. It is in this fashion that we can imagine what should be true service to others, the real humanitarian task in which we can all take part: to trace an outline of the world, put in the countries, recompose the pieces and re-establish unity through the image of humaneness, which unceasingly guides our lives.

Jean-Georges LOSSIER

¹ In 1758, long before the Red Cross was born, Samuel Johnson, the English essayist, wrote these prophetic words: "That charity is best of which the consequences are most extensive: the relief of enemies has a tendency to unite mankind in fraternal affection, to soften the acrimony of adverse nations, and dispose them to peace and amity".

THE ICRC, THE LEAGUE AND THE REPORT ON THE RE-APPRAISAL OF THE ROLE OF THE RED CROSS

The Final Report on the Re-appraisal of the Role of the Red Cross, commonly called the Tansley Report, was the subject of a detailed though not exhaustive study, carried out by the ICRC and League.

The results of this analysis appeared in a document entitled *The ICRC, the League and the Tansley Report*, dated August 1977, which was circulated at the Twenty-Third International Conference of the Red Cross in Bucharest.

In view of the very favourable comments made by the participants at the Bucharest Conference regarding this document, it was considered, at the ICRC and the League, that it would be appropriate for its main chapters to appear in successive issues of *International Review of the Red Cross* and that an off-print would later be issued separately.

The resultant book would contain some important aspects of the doctrine of our Red Cross movement with regard to its main activities. It would constitute the first volume of its kind in which various considerations and references would be found without claiming to cover all possible fields or reply to all the questions raised by the Tansley Report, the study of which is still being pursued within the Red Cross. We believe that its publication will be welcomed by our movement and by all those who take an interest in its work.

Where the Bucharest Conference may have introduced some additional comments in respect of the document submitted to it, such additions will be mentioned after the passages quoted, and the same will apply to any other additions which the ICRC and League might deem necessary.

Any relevant observations and comments sent by National Red Cross Societies or other writers on the subjects dealt with will also be considered for publication in *International Review of the Red Cross*.

THE RED CROSS AND PEACE

The question of peace is among the most important problems which the Red Cross has to consider. In this chapter the ICRC and the League set out their own thoughts, which must be read in conjunction. With all due knowledge of and respect for the other's considerations, each Institution attempts to bring its own specific contribution to the study and advancement of that universally cherished aspiration, peace.

PART I:

Considerations of the ICRC on the Red Cross and peace

I. *Proposals in the Report on the Re-appraisal of the Role of the Red Cross*

The Final report on the Re-appraisal of the Role of the Red Cross (Tansley Report) outlines three forms of Red Cross contribution to peace that have been either put into effect or advocated, and in connection with each of them it puts forward the following proposals:

1. The adoption and publicizing of general resolutions, as a form of peace education.

According to the Tansley Report the resolutions on peace passed by the International Conferences of the Red Cross have generally had no specific follow-up and their effects, particularly upon governments, have been limited. *The Red Cross could well profit from a careful evaluation of the effectiveness of conference resolutions in making a contribution to peace (p. 41).*

2. The indirect contribution the Red Cross makes to peace through all of its traditional humanitarian activities.

It is not sufficient to assert that the activities of the Red Cross in protection, assistance, health and social welfare contribute undeniably to the promotion of peace by eliminating the scourges which threaten it. The assertion must be proved, by planning and evaluating those activities in terms of their effects on maintaining or restoring peace.

3. Direct action, as proposed by some Societies, consisting mainly in mobilizing public opinion against particular groups or governments whose conduct may constitute a threat to peace.

Such action as the naming of aggressors and injustices will not be viewed as non-political, impartial, neutral and humanitarian, the Tansley Report says. It can only damage and probably destroy the useful protection and assistance activity of Red Cross....

The movement should therefore recognize and state that *certain forms of direct action for peace are simply incompatible with other Red Cross primary roles* (p. 40).

Summing up, and taking into account the differences of opinions existing within the movement itself on the means whereby the Red Cross can contribute to peace, and also the effect of such a contribution, regarded as slight as compared to the effectiveness of other activities, the Tansley Report states that *it seems unwise for Red Cross to consider work for peace as a separate function parallel to or of the same nature as protection or assistance, or its health and welfare activities* (p. 40).

II. *The position of the ICRC*

In a report to the World Red Cross Conference on Peace (Belgrade 1975), the ICRC defined as follows what it felt the concept of peace implied:

We should never forget that the fundamental reason for the existence of the Red Cross is to work for peace. It is also useful to recall what the Red Cross means by that glorious word: peace.

For too long, people considered peace to be only the absence of war. Nowadays, we know very well however that when the guns are finally silenced, a real state of peace does not necessarily ensue. Right before our eyes, there are so many examples of violence, arbitrary exercise of power, injustice and contempt for the most basic principles of humanity that we are compelled to recognize that the spirit of war predominates over the spirit of peace. The more or less veiled refusal to concede to large communities of people the right to their national identity, discrimination against certain minorities, obstacles to the essential freedoms of the individual—all these testify to a spirit of war. The will to destroy an adversary, whether physically or morally; the killing of innocent people; the systematic practice of torture and terror; the deliberate teaching of hatred: all are diametrically opposed to true peace—and thus to the principles of the Red Cross (p. 1).

Despite the undeniable difficulties in finding within the movement a common approach to peace, the ICRC believes that over and above differences in culture, religious beliefs and political convictions, the

members of the Red Cross are in agreement on certain essential points in this field. It is generally recognized, for example, that the Red Cross, being in the best position of all to understand the unutterable suffering produced by any war, cannot be indifferent to the aspirations of the peoples for peace and is duty-bound to contribute to peace.

Furthermore, as stated on the occasion of the World Red Cross Conference on Peace (Belgrade 1975) and at various other times, all the members of our movement concede that there can be no true peace, even in the absence of war, whenever the human person is not respected.

Finally, no one can dispute the fact that by its impartial relief activity and by the application of its fundamental principles the Red Cross makes an irreplaceable contribution to peace by strengthening the spirit of solidarity and understanding among men and among peoples.

1. The adoption and publicizing of general resolutions

The Red Cross must explain why its preventive action designed to limit the suffering of victims of conflicts does not in any way imply a resignation to war, for which the Red Cross has often been reproached, but testifies on the contrary to the horror it feels in the face of war. It is possible, as the Tansley Report observes, that the resolutions on peace adopted by the International Conferences of the Red Cross do not elicit from the governments responsible for organizing peace a response in proportion to the hopes they express. Their importance should not be underestimated however, for they reveal a permanent Red Cross concern; they express its constant desire to explain the long-term significance of humanitarian action and its search for all possible means to strengthen its contribution to peace. They also demonstrate its determination to make its voice heard generally on the problems of peace and disarmament.

It is nevertheless clear that such appeals and declarations will have a real impact only if they are the expressions of a unanimous will and not simply of a majority decision within the movement. It must be emphasized that the participants in International Conferences of the Red Cross, whatever their different points of view, have so far always insisted that their resolutions on the contribution of the Red Cross to peace should be unanimously adopted, being conscious of the fact that on this subject only unanimity will confer upon such resolutions the necessary authority within the movement and ensure them a hearing outside.

Finally, to hold the attention of those for whom they are intended, it is essential for these declarations to be kept in proper proportion, both in their frequency and in their language.

2. *The indirect contribution to peace*

The ICRC cannot but endorse the Tansley Report wish to see the Red Cross analyze and evaluate more systematically its role in protection, assistance, health and welfare in order to demonstrate how these activities contribute effectively to peace.

It is no doubt an exaggeration to assert that the approach to the problem thus far has been purely empirical and without consideration for effectiveness (p. 39, paragraph 7). Henry Dunant himself and later Max Huber, to mention only the most outstanding thinkers, analyzed the role of the Red Cross in relation to peace and showed how our movement's concrete humanitarian activities, in propagating the spirit of peace and understanding among men and peoples, contribute to the solution of political and social differences which divide mankind.

In its report to the Belgrade Conference, the ICRC mentioned some of the practical activities of the Red Cross which, in periods of armed conflict, may open the way to reconciliation, e.g.:

- assistance of every kind provided by National Societies to victims belonging to the adverse party (wounded, prisoners of war, civilian internees, separated families, etc.);
- interventions designed to ensure the application of international humanitarian law and respect for humanitarian principles by all parties to the conflict;
- support by the National Societies directly concerned for the initiatives of a neutral intermediary, such as the ICRC, to encourage a resumption of talks between the belligerents and to find solutions for humanitarian problems.

The foregoing measures are only examples. They are obviously not the only ones which, in time of war, have special relevance with regard to peace.

Apart from the indirect contribution to peace resulting from traditional humanitarian activities, other and more specific forms of action have been studied and put into effect, corresponding to an unceasing concern within our movement. As stated in Resolution XXV of the Fourteenth International Red Cross Conference (Brussels 1930): *... the Red Cross, by its efforts to establish these points of contact will bring the support of its moral force and prestige to the world movement towards comprehension and conciliation, the essential guarantees for the maintenance of peace,* Later meetings of Red Cross leaders organized by the ICRC in 1933, 1967 and 1969, and studies published on this

subject in 1951 in the *Revue internationale de la Croix-Rouge* showed that, while not being unlimited, there were nevertheless numerous and concrete means, deserving methodical study, whereby our movement could act more specifically for peace. Among these activities, it is appropriate to mention in particular those of value in education for peace: teaching Red Cross principles and ideals to youth; the organization by the League and National Societies of international youth meetings; preparation of suitable educational material, such as the secondary-school teachers manual proposed at Belgrade by the ICRC; the Action Programme for Peace; and so forth.

The ICRC does not share the scepticism which permeates the comments of the Tansley Report on this type of activity (p. 41, paragraph 3). Convinced as it is that such exchanges and such teaching effectively propagate a spirit of peace and better understanding among peoples, the ICRC, on the contrary, advocates intensifying and extending the measures already taken in this field.

With regard to a hypothetical role which might be played by resolutions of the International Conferences of the Red Cross as a form of education for peace (p. 41, paragraph 4), it does not appear that any such function has ever been ascribed to them within the movement.

There is certainly no doubt that the effort at planning and evaluation proposed by the Tansley Report could better orient and hence render more effective Red Cross work for peace through its traditional and specific tasks referred to above. This effort might attempt in particular to give a more systematic and more convincing presentation of these activities as indirect contributions to peace.

3. *Direct contribution*

The Tansley Report only considers as direct action for peace action that *involves criticizing specific groups as aggressive or responsible for the causes of war* (p. 38).

Let us make it clear at the outset that the tendencies which appear within the Red Cross in favour of open criticism of governments and parties described as responsible for tensions or conflicts have never been followed by the movement as a whole.

The ICRC itself believes that any direct intervention by the Red Cross in the event of a threat to peace or of an armed conflict is conceivable only in the limits of respect for our movement's principles and of its permanent concern to avoid everything which might interfere with efforts to assist the victims.

One of these principles is that of neutrality, which provides that the Red Cross shall abstain from taking sides for either of the adversaries. This prudence, with regard to controversies which are alien to it, is based upon profound wisdom and must be maintained at all costs, for the life of the Red Cross depends on it. By entering the arena of conflicting interests and opinions which divide the world and align peoples against one another, the Red Cross would be rushing headlong toward its own destruction. However slightly it might venture upon this slippery path it would not be able to stop.

We should note, furthermore, that it is only through the satisfactory discharge of its duties of protection, assistance and community service that the Red Cross has gained its moral force and prestige, without which its appeals and statements on peace would have no influence. It could not therefore work effectively for peace by taking action which would compromise its traditional activities.

The ICRC shares the Tansley Report opinion that it would be unwise for the Red Cross to denounce publicly and by name those responsible for aggression and injustice, and that any such declarations would be of worse than dubious value as contributions to peace.

Fortunately, however, there are other ways in which the Red Cross can act more directly in favour of peace. This subject must be dealt with in more general terms and be studied more thoroughly. Taking into account the development of the international community and of weapons, it is important to know to what extent and by what means the Red Cross can act, in addition to its traditional humanitarian activity, to maintain or restore peace, while remaining true to itself and its principles.

As recent experience has shown, discussions entered into, at the instigation of the ICRC, by National Societies of countries with serious differences between them have contributed, by settling certain humanitarian problems, to easing tensions which might have led to armed conflict. In other cases, such talks have led to a resumption of negotiations between belligerents.

These actions demonstrate, as confirmed by Resolution XXI of the Twenty-first International Conference of the Red Cross (Istanbul 1969), that the Red Cross, over and above its traditional humanitarian activity, should always be ready to act in the search for means to promote peace.

From this point of view, Red Cross work for peace cannot be regarded as secondary. On the contrary, its importance and significance are vital, even if we recognize that it does not actually constitute *a separate function parallel to or of the same nature as* the traditional activities of the Red Cross.

PART II:

The League of Red Cross Societies and peace

1. Historical background

The League of Red Cross Societies was born of an immense longing for peace—the longing shared by all who, horrified by the First World War, thought that a new universal order based on co-operation and concord would be set up for future generations to enjoy. Just as the League of Nations was founded to give life and substance to this longing for peace, the League of Red Cross Societies was born of the desire to harness the activity, energy and goodwill shown by National Societies during the war for effective peacetime activities, under the auspices of a federation.

In 1921, at the request of the Xth International Conference of the Red Cross, the League and the ICRC jointly made a solemn appeal to all the peoples of the world to resist the spirit of war. Since then the governing bodies of the League have year after year reminded the world of the Red Cross duty of showing itself as a spiritual and moral force dedicated to humanitarian work and helping to create a feeling of international brotherhood inspiring detestation of war and love of peace.

In this examination of the work for peace done by the Red Cross, the Tansley Report has been primarily concerned with evaluating the kinds of contribution made by the Red Cross to the cause of peace, namely adopting and disseminating resolutions, and its indirect and direct contributions to peace. It has pointed out its merits and limitations, concluding that the Red Cross should not look upon work for peace as a separate function, parallel to or identical with protection, assistance or health and welfare; but that it should confine its ambitions to improving the planning, analysing, sharing and evaluating of these activities if it aspires to doing effective work for peace.

2. Adoption and dissemination of Resolutions

Ever since the League was founded, there has not been a session of the International Conference of the Red Cross, the Board of Governors or the Executive Committee which has not shown the interest and concern of the Red Cross for world peace. The rich harvest of resolutions adopted by the statutory bodies of the International Red Cross shows the feeling shared by National Societies, the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League that the Red Cross as a whole cannot

be indifferent to the disasters threatening humanity, and their conviction that even if it cannot do anything to stop wars that have started it can at least help to maintain and develop an atmosphere that is favourable to peace.

We have to recognise that since the First World War the Red Cross attitude has steadily evolved, from a general desire to combat the spirit of war and work for peace, towards a more specific attitude directly related to the consequences of the Second World War and the new world balance of power.

The Red Cross can even be said to have done pioneer work by taking the initiative in ways considered daring at the time. Thus the danger of the use of atomic weapons leading to a world cataclysm was constantly in the minds of Red Cross governing bodies in the fifties, and was condemned by Red Cross meetings.

Now, not only does the Red Cross work for peace by means of protection, assistance and development, or calling for scrupulous observance of the Geneva Conventions; it also calls upon the Powers to come to a peaceful solution of conflicts.

The Board of Governors, the Executive Council and even the Committee of the Chairman and Vice-Chairmen have made a point of reaffirming the principles of respect of the Geneva Conventions and the defence of an ideal of peace in times of very specific events likely to endanger world peace.

At the same time the Red Cross is aware that there can be no spirit of peace when self-respect is violated and inequality, injustice and discrimination prevail; and it has consequently made appeals in which it associates itself with campaigns against prejudice, discrimination and racism and calls for development activities and education campaigns to be stepped up.

These resolutions are in many cases inspired by current events; they spring from humanitarian impulses. They show that the Red Cross is careful not to mould its expression of opinion on definitions of peace which would impose restrictions on the universality of its mission, and that it makes every effort to be directly "geared" to events when it condemns war, violence, injustice and violations of human rights.

The Red Cross makes its voice heard whenever evil is perpetrated against mankind. Its resolutions have the merit of reminding world opinion of the objectives it sets itself by its work for the preservation of peace and the protection of the peoples of the world.

National Societies have used its resolutions as the theme of their recruitment and publicity campaigns, to attract all those wishing to

spare their contemporaries the horrors of modern war. There is no doubt that the accession of new members to the humanitarian activities of the Red Cross has lent sinew to its work of reconciliation and unification in accordance with its fundamental principles and to its contribution to safeguarding and promoting peace.

3. *The contribution to peace*

The contribution to peace is what matters most, especially to the League, which owes its foundation to the hope of no more war and the intention of developing humanitarian activities unconnected with war. The League looked upon itself as an institution which existed to serve peace when its Board of Governors unanimously adopted in 1961 the motto *Per humanitatem ad pacem* which admirably supplemented and supported the first Red Cross motto *Inter arma caritas*. The Board inserted this double motto into the new League Constitution of 1976.

It may be asked whether the year 1976 will be considered, later on, as a milestone in League history. It may reasonably be looked upon as such, judging from the adoption of the new League Constitution which opens up new prospects to it. The League has adopted, and inserted in its Constitution, the fundamental principles of the Red Cross adopted in Vienna in 1965. They include humanity, which stresses Red Cross responsibility for promoting mutual understanding, friendship, co-operation and a lasting peace between all peoples of the world.

Even more remarkable is the general object of the League, as defined in Article 4 of the new Constitution. It reads:

The general object of the League is to inspire, encourage, facilitate and promote at all times all forms of humanitarian activities by the National Societies with a view to the prevention and alleviation of human suffering and thereby contribute to the maintenance and the promotion of peace in the world.

Article 5 of the League Constitution completes, specifies and codifies various functions which although not new were not explicitly mentioned in previous statutory texts and are contributions to the spirit of peace. They include relief to victims of disasters and armed conflicts, activities for safeguarding public health and the promotion of social welfare, the education of young people in humanitarian ideals and the development of friendly relations between young people of all countries, as well as assisting the ICRC in the promotion and development of international humanitarian law and dissemination of this law and of the fundamental principles of the Red Cross among the National Societies.

The World Red Cross Conference on Peace, organised jointly in 1975 by the Red Cross of Yugoslavia and the League, was a considerable event in Red Cross history, for it adopted a Red Cross Programme of Action of the Red Cross as a factor of Peace defining the principles of Red Cross action to promote peace, and lays down a set of guidelines in the form of plans to guide National Societies, the League and the ICRC in their work for peace.

Following this Conference and pursuant to Resolution No. 20/1975 of the Board of Governors, a Commission on the Red Cross and Peace has been formed. It is composed of the National Societies of Australia, Canada, Egypt, El Salvador, France, Democratic Republic of Germany, Indonesia, Mauritania, Philippines, Senegal, Yugoslavia and the Republic of Zaire, under the Chairmanship of Mr. Barroso.

This Programme of Action is described and commented on in other documents submitted at the Bucharest Conference. It may surely be considered a valid and important effort to systematise and give better direction to traditional kinds of work for peace, and to improve the allocation of responsibilities among the various components of the Red Cross in the light of their respective areas of competence.

Like the Tansley Report, the Belgrade Programme of Action distinguishes activities which contribute indirectly to peace, like assistance and protection, from a direct contribution to peace. In the latter connection we are well aware that all members of the Red Cross do not see the direct contribution to peace in the same light; but this could not be otherwise in a movement characterised by such widely differing cultures, opinions and approaches.

The Programme of Action of the Red Cross as a factor of Peace is a conclusive example of this; some of its recommendations have evoked the comment and criticism of some of the delegations present at the Belgrade Conference.

These points have been investigated by an *ad hoc* working group formed in pursuance of a resolution of the Council of Delegates, which has made every effort to arrive at a consensus on the way these plans are to be interpreted.

4. The indirect contribution to peace

The League's work for peace is wholly contained in its various activities applying the principle of international mutual aid and strengthening friendship and understanding between one nation and another, without which there is no true peace.

As the federation of National Red Cross, Red Crescent and Red Lion and Sun Societies, the League puts special emphasis on the universality of the Red Cross and is also the means whereby its members give effect to their solidarity.

The often-repeated statement that the traditional activities of National Societies and of the League—protection of health and social welfare, disaster relief and the development of community services—are an indirect contribution to peace may seem trite. Many detractors do not fail to urge the smugness of such statements when the real problem is notoriously to attack the roots of the evil and the causes of tension and war.

We shall come back to this later. May we be allowed to endorse Mr. Tansley's view that in the above the Red Cross is on its surest ground, for its contribution to an atmosphere of peace spares it from occupying positions forbidden to it by its principles.

The League Development Programme for turning every National Society into a living organised force has enabled the League to set up a widespread technical co-operation network of the most varied scope, which is backed by a spirit of understanding and concord.

In the first place, exchanges between National Societies of developing and other countries make for solidarity and understanding; and secondly they are a means of developing traditional peacetime activities. The League's multilateral assistance programme recognises the right to assistance of underprivileged Societies; by so doing it helps to lessen the inequality among nations which is such a prolific cause of dispute.

The League aims at creating a collective conscience free from any clannish spirit of exclusiveness or prejudice, and from any obstacle to social progress and self-respect. It also aims at propagating a humanitarian ideal without which all achievement is incomplete. The Red Cross Development Programme makes its active contribution to the promotion of an ideal of peace primarily by means of work done in common.

The idea of international mutual aid and solidarity is particularly significant when it relates to the relief of victims of disasters, refugees and displaced persons.

Red Cross international relief operations for victims of natural disasters, conflicts or internal unrest quite clearly encourage a spirit of union and peace in the countries affected, and strengthen international understanding and solidarity.

The movement has allotted to Red Cross Youth the unique task of establishing true brotherhood between the young people of all countries.

The League arranges for young people from all countries to meet in international study centres or seminars; it promotes participation by teams of young people from certain countries in work useful to communities in other countries; it makes young people active in upholding or disseminating humanitarian ideals and principles. By so doing it encourages young people to respect and better understand each other, and does away with the only real barrier between nations, mutual ignorance and the perpetuation of past outworn hatred.

Red Cross Youth sets up friendly relations and live contacts between young people the world over, and so serves the cause of peace; for it appeals to the imagination and stimulates friendly rivalry among the young people of today, who are characteristically receptive to universal values.

Examples of activity are innumerable. Statistics are imposing and speak for themselves. But what seems even more important to us is the moral benefit—however small—of these activities. It helps to lessen tension and set up a spirit of co-operation and mutual help in which peace can flourish.

We do not think it is fanciful to say that these activities help to maintain peace. That seems to us an impartial modest judgement on an experiment that has been going on for more than half a century.

Admittedly, the Tansley Report points out that the contribution has not been sufficiently measured—but can you measure solidarity? And he suggests that the Red Cross should give careful consideration to the effect of its assistance and development programmes.

It has to be recognised that over the last few years the National Societies have called for more direct action, and more systematic programmes for peace, regretting that traditional Red Cross activities have not been considered more from the angle of their promotion of peace or better conceived as a factor of peace.

5. The direct contribution to peace

It is not for the Red Cross to make any pronouncement on the contradictions inherent in the notion of peace, or to act as if peace legitimised and consolidated hierarchies or hegemonies set up by war.

The duty of the Red Cross is to rise above quibbling and make a frank—but reasonable—approach to the problems caused by the outrage on human dignity entailed by deprivation of the means of subsistence, health and life—and of freedom and dignity.

No one can gainsay that the Red Cross must not take up a political stance; that would be against its principles. But as Mr. J. Barroso said in his message to the opening meeting of the Belgrade Conference:

in some cases it is impossible to maintain absolute neutrality, and an attitude of defence against evils should be adopted and precautionary measures taken in order that peace be respected. It is not a right, but a duty, although some people do not wish us to adopt this attitude. We must be something more than a voice sounding the alarm. We must be an instrument which prevents, even attacks the problems which could provoke armed conflicts, and act before it is too late, so as to mobilise public opinion. The logical result is that, alone, we cannot solve all the problems, and that we need the help of countries and international institutions. But, in our efforts, it is necessary to maintain our impartiality, neutrality and universal character.

In short, the question is whether to agree with the Tansley Report that work for peace must not be a separate function co-existing with the other main functions of protection and assistance. The basis is there. The general object of the League is first and foremost to alleviate suffering and thereby contribute to peace. But beyond academic schools of thought and definitions we are tempted to ask another question, which is how the Red Cross can better contribute to the maintenance and the promotion of the spirit of peace. Differences of opinion on methods of contributing to peace, or of implementing some controversial plans, must not be considered an insuperable obstacle to the work for peace of the Red Cross.

The first thing that has to be recognized is that no humanitarian action can be isolated from its political context. This means that humanitarian organizations like the Red Cross have to lay down a humanitarian policy that is valid in the *long term* and is based on a thorough analysis of current trends and the new world order. This policy entails drawing up a "humanitarian strategy". The Red Cross has its principles. Its responsibilities are clear. Its strategy is taking shape. Whether its principles and strategy are applicable, whether they get things done, remains to be seen. The challenge is a real one. But in the words of Poincaré: *Peace is a continuous creation.*

THE ICRC AND DISARMAMENT

Introduction

“What role has the Red Cross played and, indeed, what role can it play, in connection with disarmament?”, was a question that the Red Cross asked itself during the recent International Red Cross Conference in Bucharest. We felt that this matter called for some serious thought as the special session of the United Nations General Assembly on Disarmament drew near.

The history of mankind is, alas, a history of wars which constitute a phenomenon to be found in all great civilisations throughout the ages. It has been pointed out that of the 3400 years of recorded history only 250 have been blessed with general peace. But the horrors of war have also prompted a double reaction. On a higher plane, attempts have been made to outlaw war combined with efforts to achieve general and complete disarmament. On a lower plane, war has been recognized as a reality of our age and efforts have been made to offset some of its most devastating effects and to limit as far as possible the suffering it causes. Reverting to disarmament, attempts have been made to forbid or limit the use of particularly cruel or savage weapons.

Before turning to the activities of the Red Cross in these respects, we might do well to briefly fill in a little background to the subject.

The general background to the problem

The idea of limiting the effects of war by setting certain rules probably goes right back to the origins of warfare itself but the idea of preventing it, of banishing it from the range of human relations, which has today become so very imperative, is relatively recent.

The aim of a universal peace was most certainly, on occasions, pursued in the days of old but only by conquerors who thought that they

could impose their authority on what they believed to be the world. So it was when Cyrus the Great created the Empire of the Medes and the Persians in the 6th century B.C. or when the Romans thought that they could impose the famous "Pax Romana".

But even so, we do find that rules of war existed in nearly all great civilisations. Xenophon, speaking of Cyrus the Great, said, "He was good to his friends and tolerant with those he conquered". Cyrus is also reputed to have ordered that the wounded of the enemy's army be treated with the same regard as those of his own army.

The Greeks generally respected the integrity of the heralds and the inviolability of the temples. They also accepted a prohibition on the use of poisoned weapons and on the poisoning of springs.

The Romans, too, we find, did not allow the use of poisoned weapons or the poisoning of springs. Seneca voiced the precept that prisoners should be spared and another Stoic came up with the famous maxim—"Hostes dum vulnerati fratres" or "Once wounded, the enemy becomes our brother".

If we now turn to India, we find the following verses in the epic Mahabharata poem which forms quite an encyclopaedia written by many poets over several centuries:

"You shall not strike an enemy who is 'hors de combat', frightened and vanquished."

"You shall kill neither the aged nor the young nor yet the women."

"In battle, the warrior shall employ against his enemies neither perfidious weapons nor poisoned arrows nor flaming darts."

In the Islamic civilisation, the Koran distinguishes in fact between belligerents and non-belligerents, ordering that the former should not be attacked. Thus, women and children, the aged, the sick and the weak of mind, the farmers in their fields and the hermits in their cells shall not suffer hostility. Torture and plunder are also forbidden as is the use of methods causing excessive destruction such as fire and flood.

In ancient China, it would seem that a basic distinction was made between civilians and soldiers.

African tradition has much to say on the matter also. For example, women, children and ancients may not be killed, an enemy may not be struck from behind, certain sacred places may not be desecrated and an unarmed enemy may not be killed. The wounded shall be cared for and enemy corpses were usually entitled to be buried.

And then we come to Christian civilization which brings with it a message of love and mercy. However, the conviction that they were

defending a just cause led scholars to elaborate the catastrophic theory of the “just war” that prevailed in the West for many centuries. This theory did have the merit of recognizing that war was an evil which was not to be resorted to lightly, but where it went badly wrong was in claiming that everything (or nearly everything) was permissible in war to he who was defending a just cause—and this, of course, opened the door to the worst abuses. It was not until the 18th century that any real opposition was raised to this concept, mainly by Vattel and Rousseau. We shall close this brief round-up with a quotation from Rousseau’s “Social Contract”, the precursor of the Geneva Law:

“War is not a man-to-man relationship but rather a relationship between States in which individuals become enemies by pure accident, not as men but as soldiers. As the aim of war is to destroy the enemy State, it is permissible to kill those who defend that State as long as they bear arms; but as soon as they lay down those arms and surrender they revert to being simple men and there is no longer any claim on their lives.”

Background to the problem within the Red Cross

The rules mentioned above by way of examples are undoubtedly important but it cannot be denied that they were but very sporadically applied, that they did not result from any treaties, that they were as often as not edicted unilaterally and that their value was simply limited to that of moral precepts. Consequently, the adoption, on 22 August 1864, of the Geneva Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded and Sick in Armies in the Field marked the actual birth of a body of international law to be applied during warfare;¹ as such, it was an event of the utmost importance with which the Red Cross was closely associated. It was, in fact, on the initiative of the Geneva Committee (later to become the International Committee of the Red Cross), which had been founded one year earlier, that the Diplomatic Conference which adopted the 1864 Convention was convened.

However, this was not a measure aimed directly at establishing peace in the world but at reducing the suffering caused by war. Henry Dunant’s first reaction when faced with the suffering of the wounded left to their

¹ There was, in fact, a multilateral convention in 1856, namely, the Paris Declaration which contained certain rules of maritime law, but it was of very limited scope.

fate at Solferino was a gesture of generosity towards them but this was no revolt against the absurdity of war but rather against the fact that these wounded men were left to suffer and die after the battle for no justifiable reason at all. And so the question that he asked after recounting the terrible suffering he had witnessed at Solferino was simply, "Would there not be some means, during a period of peace and calm, of forming relief Societies whose object would be to have the wounded cared for in time of war by enthusiastic, devoted volunteers, fully qualified for the task?"¹

So the basic 'raison d'être' of the Red Cross is to care for and protect the victims of war or to devote its efforts to limiting, as far as is possible, the suffering that war causes rather than actually trying to have war itself forbidden.

However, when considering the current attitude that the Red Cross has adopted with respect to disarmament, it should not be forgotten that the world situation has evolved considerably since the movement was first created, and that fidelity to the attitude of the founders does not mean a blind attachment to the letter of their teaching—which would not make for progress—but rather a respect for the spirit of that teaching which requires that the Red Cross continuously adapt to the ever-changing world situation without forgetting its original task. Now, although war was still recognized as a prerogative of national sovereignty back in 1864, this is no longer true today. What is more, the incredible technical evolution of this century has created a far wider gap between the weapons available today and those being wielded in the days of the First Geneva Convention than ever existed between the latter and those being brandished by our caveman forebears. Finally, the Red Cross has, from the outset, considered its effort as a basic contribution to the establishment of world peace despite its initial and fundamental concern for its struggle to limit the suffering caused by warfare rather than to have war banned—and this is important. The proof of this is to be found in this statement made by one of the founders of the Red Cross, Gustave Moynier, on the subject of the 1864 Geneva Convention: "To tread this path is to take a decisive step" which must "result in the absolute condemnation of war. . . Future generations will see warfare gradually disappear. This is dictated by an infallible logic. We are making slow headway but, until we attain our goal, let us applaud

¹ *A Memory of Solferino.*

as progress anything which helps us on our way. The Geneva Convention is a new milestone on this path to our goal.”¹

Faithful to the original aims of the Red Cross, the ICRC has, throughout its history, concentrated the bulk of its efforts on relieving the suffering of victims as may well be seen from all that it has done in the field to help the wounded, the sick, prisoners and civilians and in connection with international law, leading to the drafting of the Geneva Conventions of 1864, 1906, 1929 and above all the four Conventions of 12 August 1949 and the two Protocols of 10 June 1977 additional thereto.

The work done by the Red Cross in an attempt to have certain indiscriminate or particularly cruel weapons banned or limited is a logical complement to the work it has done to relieve suffering. A limitation of such weapons is actually aimed primarily at rendering the fate of their victims less bitter.

Here we should recall the appeal that the ICRC made to the belligerents as far back as 6 February 1918 “not to use poisonous gases”. On that occasion the ICRC raised an energetic voice to decry the use of asphyxiating or poisonous gases, that “barbarous innovation, being ever perfected—that is, made more murderous and more sophisticatedly cruel—by science”. Of course, it did realize that it was out on a limb by meddling in the “rivalry in the race for the most destructive and cruel of methods”.

During the inter-war period, the ICRC, supported by the whole of the Red Cross movement, worked constantly on the problem of chemical warfare either by promoting measures for defence against such warfare—and especially aero-chemical warfare—or by trying to have chemical weapons condemned out of hand. The steps it took included the setting up of a Documentation Centre dealing with chemical warfare, and the holding of experts’ meetings. It also supported the efforts which were to lead to the adoption of the Geneva Protocol of 17 June 1925 for the prohibition of the use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases and of bacteriological methods of warfare, and it then vigorously and repeatedly encouraged States to sign and ratify that Protocol. The International Red Cross Conferences, moreover, firmly condemned chemical warfare. The “International Review of the Red Cross” has

¹ “*La neutralité des militaires blessés et des services de santé des armées*”, Paris, April 1867, pp. 84-85.

published many articles on the subject and has even published a regular news report on the matter.

Naturally enough, the ICRC is also concerned, in a more general way, with protecting civilians from bombing raids as can be seen from the 293rd Circular, dated 20 November 1930, in which it asked whether it might not be possible to "specify the rules of international law for protecting civilians located outside the range of artillery from all manner of bombing, or to make such rules more effective and more definite". On the basis of expert opinions, it appealed to the Disarmament Conference to totally ban air raids.

During the Second World War, the ICRC appealed to the belligerents on various occasions, requesting that they limit their bombing raids to military targets alone, thus sparing civilians, and that they set up safety zones. It also objected, through an article in "International Review of the Red Cross", to delayed-action bombs.

Then, towards the end of the war, there were the terrible nuclear explosions at Hiroshima and Nagasaki early in August 1945. Here again, the Committee was one of the first to react. Less than one month after those explosions, on 5 September 1945, it sent a circular to the central committees of National Societies in which it stressed the considerable concern it felt with respect to the use of atomic weapons. Stress was laid on the fact that the use of new techniques, born of total warfare, would irresistibly lead to unlimited destruction.

But the Red Cross continued in its efforts after the war. In 1948, and on the basis of an ICRC report, the Seventeenth International Red Cross Conference adopted a resolution calling on States to forbid "non-directed weapons which cannot be aimed with precision or which devastate large areas indiscriminately" and "the use of atomic energy or any similar force for purposes of warfare".

On 5 April 1950, that is to say shortly after the adoption of the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, the ICRC asked the High Contracting Parties to those Conventions—in a long letter—to take all possible measures to reach agreement on the prohibition of atomic weapons and, in general, "blind" weapons.

In September 1956, encouraged by a resolution which was unanimously adopted by the National Societies at the XXIIIrd session of the Board of Governors (Oslo 1954), the ICRC drew up a set of Draft Rules with the help of a group of experts appointed by the Societies. That Draft was submitted to the Nineteenth International Red Cross Conference which was held in New Delhi in 1957. The Rules were sub-

divided into five chapters and twenty articles and they stipulated, in particular, that attacks should be strictly limited to military objectives and that weapons whose effects could not be controlled should be banned.

It should further be noted that the Twenty-first International Red Cross Conference, held in Vienna in 1965, adopted a resolution on weapons of mass destruction, calling for the conclusion of an agreement forbidding the use of such weapons.

Closer to the present day, the ICRC convened a group of experts on weapons and humanitarian law in 1973 in accordance with a suggestion made at the second session of the Conference of Government Experts on the Reaffirmation and Development of International Humanitarian Law applicable in Armed Conflicts, which was held in 1972. The report on the work of that group was published under the title "Weapons that may cause unnecessary suffering or have indiscriminate effects". During the Diplomatic Conference held to adopt the Protocols, the ICRC responded to the request of the delegates by organizing a conference of government experts on the use of certain conventional weapons. This conference was held in two sessions, the first in Lucerne in 1974 and the second in Lugano in 1976. A report was published on each of these sessions.

One of the Committees at the above-mentioned Diplomatic Conference considered what categories of conventional weapons should be prohibited. The principles concerning those weapons were reaffirmed and developed in Protocol I which also makes it clear that before any new weapon be developed, perfected, acquired or adopted, the admissibility of its use be determined. This was already a step in the right direction. However, it proved too early to reach agreement on a set of rules banning or specifically limiting certain categories of conventional weapons; but the Diplomatic Conference did manage to adopt a resolution on the follow-up to this work in which it recommended that a Governmental Conference be convened for 1979 at the latest, to try to reach agreement on this matter.

The general problem and ICRC involvement

All of these efforts form a part of the traditional activities of the ICRC which are to safeguard humanitarian interests in time of war. Yet, even though—as Gustave Moynier said in the above-mentioned passage, back in 1864—the work of the Red Cross contributes to spreading a spirit of peace, the ICRC and the movement as a whole did

wonder whether it should not also turn its energy and good reputation to more directly attacking the root of the evil—war itself. In fact, as it dawns on people that the terrifying weapons being stockpiled in arsenals around the world make peace essential for the survival of mankind, more and more voices are beginning to be raised against the phenomenon of war. Nor should we omit to mention that this was the purpose to which Dunant devoted most of his energy in the twilight of his life, as bears witness, *inter alia*, this extract from one of his notebooks, “Is not the essence of war to kill? So why, therefore, do we not stigmatise war itself?”¹

This more direct involvement of the ICRC in the anti-war movement means that it has to make itself heard in discussions of the important topic of disarmament. The ambitious project of the UN, to achieve complete and general disarmament, would be possible only in a world blessed with peace and each step towards this goal is a mortal blow struck at war.

Here, it should be recalled that the great hope for a universal peace which spread around the world in the wake of the 1914-1918 war had a deep influence on the Red Cross movement. From then on, the efforts of the National Societies in particular were aimed at caring for the civilian sick, combating disease, developing hygiene and social work.

And then there was the dreadful escalation of the methods resorted to in war which made more apparent than ever the need to put an end to this scourge once and for all and not simply to attenuate its effects. In its above-mentioned circular of 5 September 1945, the ICRC insisted on the fact that “war—which remains an anomaly in a civilised world—has taken on so devastating and universal a character in the jumble of conflicting interests on the different continents that every thought and every effort should be aimed, above all, at making it impossible”.

But direct action aimed at disarmament—as any direct action to achieve peace—is difficult, for the choices it implies are open to objective discussion which could induce States to contest the neutrality of the Red Cross. For example, there are those who maintain that only complete and general disarmament has any sense while others think that progress is to be made by little steps and that disarmament without an effective check would represent a greater threat to peace than over-armament. And then there are those who would start by neutralisation of nuclear weapons while others, basing their defence policy on the

¹ *A Memory of Solferino.*

nuclear deterrent, claim that such a move would leave them at the mercy of their potential adversaries who have better classical weapons.

But it is obvious that here we are not dealing solely with humanitarian interests as when trying to reduce the suffering of victims of armed conflict, but that there are also elements involved which are vital to the security of States.

But here the Red Cross in general and the ICRC in particular are treading dangerous ground as was pointed out in 1955 by Mr. J. Pictet, one of the current Vice-Presidents of the ICRC, when he said, "Having seen its horrors at close quarters, the Red Cross realizes better than anyone that war is inhumane and as uncharitable as it is unjust. There are few causes dearer to the Red Cross than that of peace. . . . In this matter, like all others, the Red Cross must avoid taking sides as between the Powers. For although all nations love peace, they do not often agree about the manner in which it is to be established or maintained, nor about the form it should assume, and to express one's opinion on questions of world organization is, whether one wishes it or not, to adopt a political position. Were it desired to produce an effect in this sphere, it would be necessary to descend into the arena of nations and parties. . . . If the Red Cross were to launch itself in this way into a struggle for which it was not designed, it would be courting rapid disaster." ¹

So while, when it comes to disarmament, the Red Cross cannot but subscribe to the final, universally accepted, aim of complete and general disarmament, it is difficult for it to support any one means of attaining that aim more than any other.

However, despite that, the Red Cross cannot shut itself off from the evolution of the world around it. To remain true to our principles, as we have already said, means that in our activities we have to be constantly vigilant in order to continuously adapt to new situations. How would young Henry Dunant, whose true vocation was revealed by the horrors of Solferino, have reacted at Hiroshima? Would he not have been possessed by a profound feeling of impotence and despair? Might he not have devoted his energy to opposing war itself, to denouncing its absurdity? Hypothetical though this question is, it may not be useless to ask it, for it is by trying to rediscover the emotional power of that young man at Solferino that the Red Cross, holding dogmatism at arm's length, should seek inspiration for its activities.

¹ *Red Cross Principles*, Geneva, ICRC, 1956, pp. 67-68.

The atomic weapon has carried us into a new era in which the basic humanitarian stake is no longer to save the victims of war from excessive suffering and to preserve their dignity but to prevent mankind from being annihilated altogether. More and more people are coming round to this way of thinking to which the various pro-disarmament movements which are developing bear witness. The special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament which is to be held from 23 May to 28 June of this year, is an important step which will provide the world with a large-scale public debate on the subject. We should not forget either the considerable amount of work that the UN and other forums are doing in this connection. Encouraging though these efforts may be, they cannot disguise the fact that armaments have been increasing continuously since the appearance of atomic weapons both in destructive power and in quantity, and that the armaments industry remains, alas, one of the most flourishing activities of our age. Can we, therefore, consider the massive arms deliveries being shipped to all points on the earth's surface as anything other than an act of flagrant defiance of all these efforts?

Conclusions

The Red Cross is aware of the fact that it is of the utmost priority for mankind that the disarmament cause be vigorously defended and that it must take up its position in the vanguard of this battle. In fact, last year at the Twenty-third International Red Cross Conference, it once again reaffirmed its mission as being "to contribute to a lasting peace in the world" (Resolution XII). However, it can take no stand on the methods to be used in achieving disarmament without endangering one of its basic principles, that of neutrality. So it has to act in a general way as it has already done by associating itself, through various resolutions adopted by its international conferences, with the desire for general and complete disarmament which has so often been expressed at the UN.

As for the ICRC, well, it must continue, of course, first and foremost to put its heart and soul into helping the victims of war. Nowadays, it is harder than ever to make people aware of and to implement the basic idea that a war victim is no longer an enemy but simply a man, deserving of respect and protection. Furthermore, the strict application of humanitarian principles during conflicts is essential to the cause of peace for it reflects an open-minded and tolerant attitude without which this cause could make no progress. It is, therefore, obvious that the Red

Cross is working for peace in its efforts to have these principles applied and to spread this attitude.

But it has now become vital that States also should adopt this attitude of open-mindedness and tolerance when talking of peace and disarmament. The terrible threat of annihilation by mass destruction weapons looming over mankind leaves us with no choice other than that of peaceful coexistence, which has become imperative for survival.

The ICRC certainly exercises no direct influence in discussions aimed at establishing lasting universal peace or in negotiations with a view to achieving general and complete disarmament. However, it can still proclaim its horror at the present situation, indeed it is duty-bound to do so on behalf of the millions of victims who suffered and died in the wars that it has witnessed, and it may also express the earnest hope that States will do all in their power to extricate themselves from the deadlock which could prove fatal for mankind.

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS

ICRC PRESIDENT IN USA AND CANADA

ICRC President Alexandre Hay was in North America during the first fortnight of March. He was accompanied by Jean-Pierre Hocké, Director, Operations Department, and Michel Veuthey, Delegate to international organizations.

In Washington, Mr. Hay and his collaborators met the President of the American National Society, Mr. George Elsey, several former Presidents, the Vice-Presidents and Miss Dorothy Taaffe, Director of International Services. Mr. Hay had talks with the Directorate and staff of the American Red Cross to whom he delivered an address on current activities.

In the White House, President Hay had discussions with Dr. Peter Bourne, President Carter's special assistant, and with other officials. In the State Department he met the Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. Warren Christopher, and Miss Patricia Derian, Assistant Secretary for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, and her colleagues Mr. Frank Sieverts and Mr. Mark Schneider.

The ICRC President also contacted the leading officials of USAID and of the Bureau of International Organizations.

Mr. Hay also met Senator Clayborne Pell, other members of Congress, several members of the the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, Mr. G. V. Montgomery of the House of Representatives — who introduced him to some forty colleagues—Mr. Robert McNamara, President of the World Bank (IBRD), and the former Secretary of State, Mr. Henry Kissinger.

In New York Mr. Hay conferred with Mr. Kurt Waldheim, UN Secretary-General, and some of his senior staff. He also spoke with the UNICEF Executive Director, Mr. Henri Labouisse, the UNDP Administrator, Mr. Bradford Morse, and the American Ambassador to the United Nations.

On 15 March the President of the ICRC was received by the Swiss Society of New York. He delivered to the Society and its guests an address on "The Role of the ICRC in a Changing World".

While in New York, President Hay was also received by Dr. Frank Stanton, Chairman of the American Red Cross, together with members of the National Society's Board of Governors and of the New York Red Cross Chapter. During these cordial meetings the American Red Cross reaffirmed its support and special concern for the activities of the ICRC.

The President's interviews in Washington and New York convinced him of the very great interest and understanding for the ICRC's traditional activities for victims of international and non-international armed conflicts, for its visits to political detainees and for its efforts to promote the ratification and dissemination of international humanitarian law.

Mr. Hay and Mr. Hocké arrived in Toronto on 17 March where they met Mr. R. J. Kane, Vice-President of the National Society, accompanied by his senior colleagues. In Ottawa, the President of the Canadian Red Cross, Mr. Jean Desjardins, welcomed President Hay and Mr. Hocké and accompanied them to the Government headquarters where they had various discussions. President Hay there met Mr. Pierre Elliot Trudeau, the Prime Minister, Mr. A. E. Gotlieb, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; Dr. L. A. Dorais, Vice-Chairman of the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA); and Mr. Marcel Prud'homme, M.P. and Chairman of the Foreign Affairs and National Defence Committee. Finally, a stirring tribute was paid to the President of the ICRC before the Canadian Parliament. This mark of esteem demonstrated the interest and support of all the officials met in Toronto and Ottawa.

*IN GENEVA***VIET NAM RED CROSS DELEGATION IN GENEVA**

The Vice-President of the Viet Nam Red Cross (VNRC), Dr. Nguyen Van Tin, accompanied by Mr. Truong Xuan Nam, Assistant Secretary-General, and Mr. Le Dong, member of the Society's Central Committee, were the guests of the International Red Cross (IRC) in Geneva from 31 March to 7 April.

The VNRC delegation had talks with Mr. Alexandre Hay, President of the ICRC, Mr. Henrik Beer, Secretary-General of the League, and with the co-directors of the IRC assistance programme in Viet Nam, Mr. J.-P. Hocké and Mr. J.-P. Robert-Tissot. During the discussions the value of the projects which have been completed in the last few years was examined, and current and future projects were reviewed and defined, pursuant to the Viet Nam Government's appeal at the International Red Cross Conference at Bucharest last October for continued aid from the IRC and from governments to enable the people of Viet Nam to remedy the ravages of the war.

The humanitarian questions arising from events at the frontier between Viet Nam and Kampuchea were also discussed.

The VNRC delegation proposed that the IRC finance the following four priority projects of the VNRC action programme for 1978:

1. The original project for the construction of a 250-bed hospital at Rach Gia will be changed and integrated into the enlargement of an existing hospital to a 500-bed capacity. This new project should be completed by the end of 1980.
2. An additional request for the emergency first aid centre in Ho-Chi-Minh City.
3. Medical equipment for a 200-bed district hospital in Hanoi.
4. Supply of the pharmaceutical products specified in a list submitted in November 1977 for the local manufacture of medicaments for use, particularly, by the VNRC medico-social teams.

The sum necessary for these projects is about 3 million Swiss francs. With support from National Societies, and with funds still available, the IRC will endeavour to mobilize the resources required to carry out these projects.

The VNRC delegation also had interviews with officials in charge of various technical services of the League Secretariat. Views were exchanged mainly on the development of the National Society's first-aid, life-saving, blood donation, health education, news and disaster relief activities, on the participation of young people in those activities, and on leadership training. The League Development Programme, with support from League member Societies, will give the VNRC such assistance as it may require to achieve its development projects.

The co-operation between the ICRC Central Tracing Agency (CTA) and the VNRC was also examined. In this connection reference was made to the repatriation of aliens resident in Viet Nam, the problems of reuniting families, and the transmission of family news. These discussions revealed that a number of families would soon be reunited. Co-operation and exchange of information between the CTA and the VNRC will be improved.

On the subject of the events now taking place at the frontier between Viet Nam and Kampuchea, details of the victims' needs will be communicated by the VNRC delegation as soon as it returns to Hanoi. In addition, the VNRC is prepared to give its backing to the overtures which the ICRC had made to the Government of Viet Nam with a view to discharging its traditional mission of protecting and assisting the victims.

Mr. Claude Pilloud retires

At the end of March 1978, the ICRC in a private ceremony took leave of Mr. Claude Pilloud who had reached the age limit and was leaving the service of the ICRC after a fruitful career lasting nearly forty years. On behalf of the ICRC, its President, Mr. A. Hay, thanked Mr. Pilloud for the eminent services he had rendered to the whole of the Red Cross movement.

Mr. Pilloud joined the ICRC on 1 October 1939, at the beginning of the Second World War. After serving at first as a member of the

General Secretariat, he was placed at the head of the Delegations Service and carried out a large number of missions (not less than 137 !) in various countries.

At the end of the war, he was appointed head of the Legal Service and later was made a member of the ICRC's Directorate. He played a significant part in the preparation of the drafts which eventually became, after the Diplomatic Conference, the Geneva Conventions of 1949, and many years later was actively involved in the work leading to the adoption of the Protocols in 1977.

He also participated in the revision of the Statutes of the International Red Cross in 1952 and applied his experience and knowledge to the organization of all the various International Red Cross Conferences that took place during the time he was at the ICRC.

In December 1959, he was presented with the ICRC silver medal in recognition of his brilliant work for the institution.

Mr. Pilloud will continue to do part-time work in the field of humanitarian law at the Henry Dunant Institute.

Republic of Djibouti Declaration of Succession to the Geneva Conventions of 1949

The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Djibouti sent a letter dated 5 January 1978 which reached the Swiss Federal Council on 26 January 1978, and in which he declared that his State considered itself bound by the Geneva Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded and Sick in Armed Forces in the Field of August 12, 1949, by virtue of its prior ratification by France.

In a further letter dated 1 March 1978, received on 6 March 1978, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Djibouti declared that his State considered itself likewise bound by the other three Geneva Conventions of 1949.

The said Conventions entered into force for the Republic of Djibouti when it became an independent State on 27 June 1977.

*EXTERNAL ACTIVITIES***Africa****Southern Africa**

During the first two months of the year ICRC activities in Southern Africa have developed substantially.

In December 1977, the ICRC appealed for funds to cover its relief programmes for the first four months of the year and its operating expenses until the end of June 1978. Initially for 3.1 million Swiss francs, the amount appealed for was increased by 1 million francs to meet the cost of several medical projects in Mozambique and of operations by two medical teams in Rhodesia/Zimbabwe.

With a view to informing likely donors about these developments, the ICRC organized two briefings in February in Geneva. These meetings were attended by the representatives of a score of governments and National Societies which displayed a special interest in these programmes.

At the end of February contributions promised in response to the ICRC appeal amounted to 708,500 Swiss francs. The ICRC hopes to obtain soon the necessary financial support for its continued work in this part of the world.

In *Rhodesia/Zimbabwe*, action has been extended. Several extra delegates have been despatched to increase the ICRC staff strength to twelve: nine in Salisbury (including a three-man medical team), two delegates at Bulawayo and one at Umtali. In addition, two mobile medical teams provided by the Nordic Red Cross Societies are ready to leave for Rhodesia/Zimbabwe. Their mission will be to reinforce the personnel who visit the "protected villages", mission dispensaries, and

first-aid posts manned by Red Cross volunteers in Central Mashonaland, Eastern Mashonaland and Manicaland.

To *Mozambique*, the ICRC has forwarded relief supplies for the Ministry of Health. On 8 February two heavy-duty ambulances provided by the Swedish Red Cross were unloaded in the port of Beira. On 20 February an aircraft chartered by the ICRC landed in the same town with 11 tons of relief supplies valued at 127,000 Swiss francs and including two heavy-duty ambulances, 300 fully-equipped hospital beds, 850 sheets, 620 blankets and 4 marquees each for 50 people. This consignment was donated by the National Society of the Federal Republic of Germany and by the ICRC. All these relief supplies are for hospitals treating victims of the Rhodesia/Zimbabwe conflict.

These donations, decided upon after a survey by the ICRC in December, were delivered to the Mozambique Ministry of Health by Mr. Thierry Germond, ICRC delegate.

Botswana

The ICRC regional delegate based at Lusaka, Mr. Frédéric Steineman, went to Botswana in February for discussions with the National Society and the authorities. The latter authorized the ICRC to visit the country's prisons in order to report on detention conditions of a number of aliens detained for security reasons and whose countries have no diplomatic relations with Botswana.

The delegate also again visited the Francistown and Selebi Pikwe refugee camps in order to assess needs. Thanks to donations from the Swedish, British and Federal German Red Cross Societies, two consignments of tents and medical material are en route.

Zambia

The regional delegate next went to Zambia. On 25 February he was received by Mr. Joshua N'Komo, President of the ANC/ZAPU and co-leader of the Patriotic Front, who authorized him to visit the Zimbabwe refugee camps under ZAPU control. After Mr. Steineman's visits to four of these camps, the ICRC despatched by air 500 tents donated by the Swedish Red Cross.

East Africa

Tanzania

The ICRC delegate general for Africa, Mr. F. Schmidt, and regional delegate, Mr. F. Steineman, were in Dar-es-Salaam from 4 to 14 January. They conferred with representatives of the Government and with the General Secretary of the Tanzanian Red Cross, Mrs. M. Mackeja, on subjects of common interest, with a view to closer co-operation between the National Society and the ICRC.

Ogaden Conflict

Developments in Ogaden led the ICRC, at the beginning of 1978, to renew its overtures with a view to providing protection and assistance to the civilian and military victims of the conflict. At the same time, large relief consignments were despatched to Addis Ababa and to Mogadishu.

On 22 and 25 February two chartered aircraft conveyed to Ethiopia some 60 tons of relief supplies to a value of 445,000 Swiss francs, a donation from the ICRC. At the same time, standard parcels of emergency medical supplies to a value of 400,000 Swiss francs were sent to Mogadishu from where they were forwarded to hospitals near the front.

The ICRC is also endeavouring to strengthen its staff in the field (at the end of February it had one delegate in Ethiopia and two in Somalia) with a view to the quick and effective development of its operations, especially the distribution of relief to the civilian population affected by the events. The ICRC hopes soon to extend its protection by further visits to prisoners held by both sides.

During the seven months of its humanitarian activities in the Ogaden conflict, the ICRC despatched the following relief supplies:

To Ethiopia: 18.7 tons of medicaments, 81.2 tons of food, 1.6 tons of miscellaneous supplies (soap, etc.), 160 tents and over 10,000 blankets.

To Somalia: 46.7 tons of medicaments, 300.5 tons of food, 60 tents, over 20,000 blankets, sundry supplies (soap, mats, etc.) and one trailer-lorry (for carrying ICRC relief goods).

At 28 February, the ICRC had received from 11 governments, 15 National Red Cross Societies and various private bodies and individuals, in response to its appeal of 9 September, cash contributions amounting to 3.2 million Swiss francs and donations in kind to a value of over 500,000 Swiss francs.

The funds made available to the ICRC have almost run out. Needs are still great on both sides of the front and the ICRC is preparing plans to provide more assistance over the coming months.

Latin America

Delegate General's Mission

On 5 February 1978, Mr. Serge Nessi, ICRC delegate general for Latin America, left Geneva for a mission in the Caribbean and Central America.

He first went to *Cuba* at the invitation of the authorities and National Society. With leaders of Red Cross and with government representatives, including the Minister of Health and the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Nessi discussed humanitarian problems.

After a short stop at *Panama*, on 12 and 13 February, for talks with the National Society, the delegate general proceeded to *Nicaragua*. On 15 February he was received by the President of the Republic, General Anastasio Somoza. He also met the Minister of the Interior and the Heads of Security and Police. President Somoza agreed in principle to further ICRC visits to places of detention and the Minister of the Interior orally confirmed acceptance of the arrangements proposed for these visits. Written confirmation must still, however, be conveyed to the ICRC.

Next the delegate general went to *Costa Rica*. At the invitation of the Red Cross he took part in the Seventh Meeting of Presidents and the Technical Seminars for the Societies of Central America, Mexico, Panama and USA from 14 to 18 February. Mr. Nessi gave a talk on ICRC protection and assistance operations.

On 17 February he was received by the new President of the Republic of *Costa Rica*, Mr. Rodrigo Carazo — who will assume office in May this year—with whom he discussed the role and action of the ICRC in the region.

Argentina

In January and February ICRC delegates continued their protection and assistance in places of detention in Argentina. They visited the prisons of La Plata, Sierra Chica and Rawson, where they saw a total of about 1,600 detainees.

ICRC assistance to detainees' families continued. In January 203 families received 4,500 dollars' worth of relief supplies, and in February 239 families 6,000 dollars' worth.

Chile

The ICRC delegation in Chile also continued its protection and assistance for detainees. In January delegates visited the *Carcel Pública* in Santiago where they saw 47 detainees. In February they went to the Santiago *Penitenciaría* where they saw 86 detainees.

The ICRC supplied medical and other supplies in prisons to a value of 1,500 dollars in January and about 800 dollars in February.

Assistance to detainees' families amounted to 11,600 dollars in January and 7,500 dollars in February. About 1,000 families received the benefit of these distributions in Santiago and in the provinces.

Asia

Thailand

In January and February the ICRC delegates in Thailand visited 78 police stations and four transit camps throughout the country. They saw 2,111 persons detained for illegal entry into Thailand.

Relief to a value of 18,000 Swiss francs was distributed during these visits.

Indonesia

An ICRC tandem of delegates, one a doctor, the other an interpreter, has been in Indonesia since 24 January to visit places of detention. The previous such mission of the ICRC in Indonesia was in February last year.

By the end of February this year, the delegates has visited eleven places of detention in Jakarta and in West Java.

Middle East

Delegate General's Mission

Mr. Jean Hoeffliger, ICRC delegate general for the Middle East, was in Lebanon and Israel from 9 to 22 February.

In Beirut he chaired a meeting of heads of delegations in the Middle East. The meeting examined ICRC activities in the region, and ways

and means for action to disseminate knowledge of humanitarian law. For that reason, the meeting was attended by Mr. Hans-Peter Gasser, head of the ICRC Legal Division.

In Israel, where he stayed from 17 to 22 February, the delegate general had working sessions with the ICRC delegation to draw initial conclusions from the first six weeks' practical experience of the new procedure for visits to security detainees. On 22 February, Mr. Hoeffliger met General Avraham Orly, the co-ordinator for occupied territories, to inform him of the ICRC's comments on the new procedure.

Lebanon

In January and February the ICRC delegation in Lebanon continued its general assistance to victims of the events. The fighting which had occurred in Beirut towards the middle of February demanded intervention by the ICRC delegation to help the National Red Cross Society to remove the wounded and civilians from the combat zones.

Mission by the Head of the Medical Division

From 12 to 23 February Dr. Rémi Russbach, Head of the ICRC Medical Division, was in Lebanon to assess the ICRC's medical work and to adapt it to the current situation in the country.

In South Lebanon Dr. Russbach visited the hospitals of Tyre and Nabatiyet. The situation is still tense, requiring an emergency plan which may be put into operation at the least alert. A system has been devised which includes the storage in Beirut and Tyre of standard parcels of emergency medical material ready for immediate despatch to the dispensaries and hospitals in the area of fighting.

Dr. Russbach also went to Tripoli in the north, where he visited the artificial limb centre opened by the ICRC with funds provided by the Netherlands Government. The prosthetist working in this centre has been seconded for a year by the Swiss Red Cross.

Dr. Russbach met Dr. Assad Ritzk, Minister of Social Affairs, the leaders of the Lebanese Red Cross and representatives of the World Health Organization and of UNICEF.

A full report on the medical situation in South Lebanon, with special reference to the hospitals and dispensaries not yet under government supervision, will be submitted to the authorities who, on the basis of the report's practical proposals, will work out an action programme for the region.

Israel and the Occupied Territories

In two operations under ICRC auspices in February 686 people crossed the UN buffer zone in the north of Sinai. From the occupied territories of Gaza and Sinai 377 people went to Cairo and in the opposite direction, 309—including 51 students—crossed towards the occupied territories.

In the second of these operations, six Egyptian sailors were repatriated; their vessel had gone aground off Haifa in January this year.

Jordan

In February two Argentinian and two German tourists who had strayed from Israel to Jordan, while sailing in the Gulf of Aqaba, were escorted by the ICRC Amman delegate to his colleagues in the occupied territories.

On 9 February two Arab detainees released by Israel were able to return to Jordan under ICRC auspices.

RED CROSS SERVICE

Special activities

The general theme for this issue of International Review, published shortly before 8 May, the 150th anniversary of the birth of Henry Dunant, is "Red Cross Service". Three examples which are somewhat out of the general run of activities organized by National Red Cross Societies illustrate how some Societies endeavour to provide assistance and service.

Thailand

The Red Cross and antivenin production

Thailand, being a tropical country, abounds with a variety of snakes, some species of which are venomous (Cobra, King Cobra, Banded Krait, some species of Vipers and Sea Snakes), and each year a large number of casualties are caused by their bites.

The Thai Red Cross Society therefore founded in 1923 an institute and a snake farm for the production of antivenin vaccines and sera.

The Queen Saovabha Memorial Institute in Bangkok constitutes the Science Division of the Thai Red Cross Society and its snake farm is an attraction for tourists from all parts of the world.

In 1977, it contained 2,614 snakes, with six poisonous species. These are brought in alive by snakecatchers, most of whom are farmers, who are paid for their catch. Snakes in captivity do not take food by themselves and are liable to die of hunger, so they have to be force-fed by hand.

It is also by hand that the venom is extracted. A small receptacle is inserted in the snake's mouth; the venom glands behind each eye are gently squeezed and the venom flows into the receptacle.

This liquid is injected in horses in carefully controlled doses. After prolonged treatment, the serum from the blood of the immunized horses is effective in neutralizing the action of venom. In 1977, the Thai Red Cross Society had 275 horses for the production of serum.

The antivenin sera are freeze-dried (lyophilized) in the Society's laboratories and stored in vials. In 1977, more than 37,000 vials of various types of freeze-dried antivenin were produced by the Thai Red Cross Society.

The greatest part of the production is sold at a minimal price to the Ministry of Public Health, which distributes it throughout the country. In this way, hospitals and dispensaries have fresh serum for the treatment of snake bites. Only the surplus is exported to countries which have the same species of venomous snakes as those in Thailand. In 1977, over 2,000 vials were exported to Malaysia, the United States and to some countries in Europe where snakes are kept and where accidents are likely to occur.

A large staff is required for all these operations, ranging from the upkeep of the snake farm to the production of sera: in 1977, the Thai Red Cross Society had 92 people on its staff, including several veterinary surgeons and assistants, and excluding administrative personnel. Annual expenditure was estimated to amount to approximately 160,000 US dollars.¹

Spain

Soldiers act as voluntary Red Cross first aiders

In 1971 the Spanish Government agreed to a proposal of the National Red Cross Society that every year a contingent of voluntary Red Cross first aiders should be allowed to do their compulsory military service while working for the Red Cross.

This decision met a long-standing need. The work of the Spanish Red Cross for the prevention of accidents among the population, and its action in emergency and disaster situations had grown to such an extent that its operational potential, especially where staff and material were concerned, was insufficient. It was only thanks to a corps of enthu-

¹ Documentation kindly sent by the Thai Red Cross Society.

siastic voluntary workers that the Spanish Red Cross could perform those services to the community, but for various reasons, in particular because the volunteers were busy at their normal jobs on weekdays, they could only be available on days when they were not at work.

The Spanish Red Cross plan to be ready to perform its tasks at all times and in as many areas as possible, on the roads and beaches and in the mountains, determined its decision to present to the government a study on the extension of its work for accident prevention and assistance. One of the conclusions reached was that the plan could not be put into practice unless the Society could count upon obtaining the services of a certain number of soldiers every year.

An agreement was reached in 1971 when an ordinance was issued by the Ministry of the Armed Forces, allowing Red Cross volunteers between the ages of 17 and 20 years, called up for military service, to apply for assignment to the Red Cross services, provided they had already been members of the Red Cross for not less than six months and had obtained their first aid certificate.

At present there are throughout the country about 4,500 conscripts doing their military service in the Red Cross. After spending two months in the recruit camps, where they receive the general military training which is compulsory for all Spanish soldiers, those volunteers who are accepted are detached to the Red Cross brigades for a period of eighteen months.

Considerable advantages are gained by this system. On the main roads, 280 permanent first aid posts have now been established, containing running water, electricity, telephone, radio communication and ambulances. In addition there are 43 similar fixed posts and 68 mobile squads in the mountain regions.

In all, the Spanish Red Cross has 750 ambulances and 198 auxiliary vehicles. Its first aid brigades number over 15,000 voluntary workers, including the soldiers made available by the government.¹

Viet Nam

The Red Cross and medicinal plants

It is now some years since the Viet Nam Government expressed the hope that traditional medical practice could be utilized in the service of

¹ This article is based on a paper kindly sent by the Spanish Red Cross.

the population, hand-in-hand with modern scientific medical methods. The Ministry of Health therefore issued directives with the aim of encouraging the study of traditional practice and the use of pharmaceutical resources available in indigenous medicinal plants. It also appointed experts to undertake this study and transmit the knowledge thus obtained.

The Red Cross of Viet Nam very soon sensed the significance of those decisions, with regard to the scientific knowledge acquired and to its social applications, and has taken an active part in their development. It has added the cultivation of medicinal plants to its list of activities and encourages its members to grow some of these plants. Every year, the Society makes a survey of what has been done and gives prizes to Red Cross units and members who have obtained the best results.

National Society members are instructed by specialists how to grow and gather the plants and are taught the best ways of administering them to patients suffering from various common ailments. Once they have learnt and put into practice these methods, the Red Cross members become instructors in their turn and show people how to grow and apply the plants to their own use.

Experience has shown that some common ailments (such as influenza, various forms of food poisoning, coughs, diarrhoea, dysentery, rheumatism, and certain womens' illnesses) can be cured by these methods and that the use of medicinal plants suits the mentality and general way of life of the rural inhabitants in Viet Nam.

Some of the plants which can be employed for their therapeutic properties are widespread and well known, either because they are fruit trees (like the guava or lemon), or because they are widely employed as spices, such as mint, ginger, citronella, euphorbia, etc. They are generally easy to grow on relatively small plots of land and do not need any special care or fertilizers. They can be planted in a herb garden or on strips of land alongside hedges or around ponds.

Some sections of the Red Cross of Viet Nam have communal gardens, where all their members join in growing medicinal herbs. Some may yield as much as several tons of dried pharmaceutical products every year. In certain areas where school-teachers are members of the Red Cross, they and their pupils grow such plants in the school garden. In recent years the number of Red Cross members who grow a few selected herbs in their own gardens has substantially increased.

Seedlings may be obtained from the communal medical centre, or else on the local market, or by exchanging them with a neighbour. Crops, after drying, are delivered to the provincial pharmaceutical service. Some plants yield substances which are converted into pills or are made

available in powdered form, while other herbs are merely cut up for infusions.

These activities have given most encouraging results. For instance, in the province of Vinh Phú alone, Red Cross members in 1972 grew twenty-one species of medicinal plants on a total surface of three hectares, while in 1975 this area was five times as much. Similar results have been observed in each of Viet Nam's provinces.

The National Red Cross Society is very keen on increasing still more the production of medicinal plants and herbs, which can but improve the general state of health of the country's inhabitants.¹

¹ Article based on documentation provided by the Red Cross Society of Viet Nam.

BOOKS AND REVIEWS

CHRISTIANE SHIELDS DELESSERT: *RELEASE AND REPATRIATION OF PRISONERS OF WAR AT THE END OF ACTIVE HOSTILITIES*¹

The study by Christiane Shields Delessert on the release and repatriation of prisoners of war at the end of active hostilities is a detailed analysis of the first paragraph of article 118 of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War of 12 August 1949, which reads:

Prisoners of war shall be released and repatriated without delay after the cessation of active hostilities.

Although some people might wonder that such a short sentence should constitute the subject of a study of this size, that is not as astonishing as it might appear at first glance. The first paragraph of article 118 raises, in fact, two questions of some difficulty to jurists and of vital importance for the captives:

- (a) How should the expression "cessation of active hostilities" be interpreted?
- (b) Does the first paragraph of article 118 lay an obligation upon the Detaining Power to repatriate—by force if necessary—prisoners of war refusing to go back to their own countries?

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Before tackling those two questions, the author examines the historical background to the question of the status of prisoners of war.

The first part of the book is a historical study of the law relating to captivity. Through a consideration of the writings of publicists and of the relevant clauses in peace treaties, the author crystallizes the practice of States and the evolution of the status of prisoners of war. This status is a consequence of the emergence between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries of the nation-state.

¹ Christiane Shields DELESSERT: *Release and Repatriation of Prisoners of War at the End of Active Hostilities, A Study of Article 118, Paragraph 1 of the Third Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War*, Foreword by Professor Richard R. Baxter, Harvard Law School, Etudes Suisses du Droit international, vol. 5, Schulthess Polygraphischer Verlag, Zurich, 1977, xiv and 225 pp.

Before then, the prevailing notion was that of the "just war"; captured enemies were treated as criminals; their plight was most unenviable, and only the prospect of a lucrative ransom might from time to time put a stop to their captors' cruelty.

With the emergence of a large number of States having equal rights, armed conflict ceased to be the means to ensure the triumph of justice; war came to be considered as only one of the means employed, albeit a very imperfect one, to settle differences between sovereign States; none of the parties could take the law unto himself, and captured adversaries were no longer treated as criminals.

A consequence, too, of the development of the nation-state was the abolition of private wars. It was the sovereign prince who waged war; soldiers were only the sovereign's agents, acting upon his orders and could not be held responsible for acts of war.

It was thus that a new concept of captivity was evolved: detention was no longer considered as a punishment but a means to prevent an enemy who had surrendered from taking up arms once more against his captors. A return to peace brought an end to captivity. With the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), this principle became the practice and was given the force of law in the Hague Regulations of 1907.

However, two world wars brought to light new difficulties: interminable months might elapse between the conclusion of the armistice agreements and the entry into force of the peace treaties (if treaties were indeed made, which was not always the case). Was it right to make the release of prisoners contingent upon the conclusion of peace, with the risk of indefinitely prolonging a captivity which was not warranted by any military necessity?

While the Geneva Convention of 1929 had not brought any adequate solution to this question, the 1949 Diplomatic Conference adopted a radically new provision which made the end of captivity dependent on the cessation of active hostilities and no longer on the conclusion of peace.

The result was article 118, paragraph 1.

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The second part of the study is devoted to a consideration of the interpretation of the expression "cessation of active hostilities".

Historical events furnish one element of interpretation: the end of the Second World War was not brought about by the conclusion of any peace treaty; and yet, the collapse of the Axis Powers was complete; the resumption of hostilities was totally out of the question, and still,

four years after the capitulation of Germany and Japan, hundreds of thousands of prisoners were still awaiting repatriation. The 1949 Conference adopted a provision designed to prevent a recurrence of such a situation.

But in the conflicts since 1949, a situation arose which had not been envisaged by the Diplomatic Conference: in Korea, Kashmir, the Middle East, the armistice agreements putting an end to military operations did not exclude a possible resumption of hostilities. They only brought about the "freezing" of a dangerous situation. Was article 118, paragraph 1, applicable in these situations of "neither war nor peace"? In other words, how can the likelihood of a resumption of hostilities be assessed?

In seeking an answer to this question, the author first analyses the nature of armistice agreements and comes to the conclusion that an armistice or a cease-fire agreement (the actual terminology is not important), whatever its provisions, does not necessarily bring about the re-establishment of peace. Reference should be made to objective factual criteria: if no military operations take place, if borders are calm, if reports are made by organizations such as the United Nations attesting that all is quiet, then there is a likelihood that the parties involved are determined to put an end to the armed conflict.

The author suggests that if such factual criteria were to last for a period of six months, it could be concluded that active hostilities were at an end, and article 118, paragraph 1, would be applicable: each party would be obliged to repatriate the prisoners held by it. On the other hand, if the possibility of a resumption of hostilities could not be ruled out, then the parties to the conflict would not be under the obligation to repatriate such prisoners.

But, then, in such cases, a new difficulty arises: a latent state of hostilities, broken from time to time by violent incidents, raids and forays, might be prolonged indefinitely. The detention of prisoners of war for several years would clearly be contrary to the humanitarian goals of the Geneva Convention.

To overcome this difficulty, the author proposes that a new rule limiting the total duration of captivity should be introduced. This period would start running, not from the end of hostilities, but from the beginning of captivity. A period of two years could be considered, as it has been observed that after two years of captivity the physical and psychological efficiency of soldiers was considerably impaired so that their detention for any further time was not warranted.

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The third part of this study deals with situations in which prisoners of war might be unwilling to be repatriated.

Such situations occurred at the end of the Second World War and of the conflict in Korea. In the first case, the Western Powers returned by force Soviet ex-prisoners of war who did not wish to go back to the USSR; in the second case, on the other hand, the principle was upheld that prisoners of war should be given the opportunity to decide freely whether or not to be repatriated.

Does article 118, paragraph 1, authorize the Detaining Power to take into account the will of prisoners of war who refuse to be repatriated, or are States obliged to repatriate all the prisoners they hold, if necessary by force.

Mrs. Shields Delessert discusses in detail the arguments advanced for or against each of those notions, and her conclusions are based essentially on the proceedings of the 1949 Conference. The Austrian delegation had proposed a draft amendment authorizing the Detaining Power to take into consideration the freely expressed wish of the prisoners of war. The amendment was rejected by the Conference, basically because it feared that the scope of article 118 might be weakened and that it would open the door to all kinds of abuses. It might conceivably lead to cases where a Detaining Power might exert pressure on prisoners of war to refuse to be repatriated, and where it might elude its obligations under article 118, by granting so-called political asylum. It should be concluded that the Diplomatic Conference deliberately dismissed the possibility of taking the freely expressed wish of prisoners of war into account. Detaining Powers are, therefore, under the obligation, under article 118, paragraph 1, to repatriate, if necessary by force, the prisoners in their hands.

Nevertheless, that is a conclusion that cannot be easily reconciled with the Convention's humanitarian goals. The author therefore proposes a new wording of article 118, authorizing the parties to a conflict to come to an agreement waiving the obligation to repatriate all prisoners of war. So as to eliminate the risk of captives' being submitted to undue pressure by the Detaining Power, it would be advisable for a third party (for instance, an impartial organization, or a commission composed of the representatives of three neutral States) to verify that prisoners of war are left free to decide for themselves.

As an example, the author gives suggestions for a model agreement concerning prisoners of war unwilling to return to their country of origin. Such a model agreement could be annexed to the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War.

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Mrs. Shields Delessert's study indubitably constitutes a significant contribution to the better understanding of humanitarian law; she proposes solutions to two particularly delicate questions, the importance of which far outweighs considerations of a purely academic nature.

However, the writer of this review has not been entirely convinced by the interpretation of the expression "cessation of active hostilities" which Mrs. Shields Delessert puts forward in the second part of the book. Some doubts may be entertained whether the author might not have attached excessive importance to the historical circumstances that prevailed immediately after the end of the Second World War, and thereby neglecting a literal interpretation of the first paragraph of article 118.

The following argument could, in fact, be advanced: if the 1949 Conference had really wished to restrict the application of this first paragraph of article 118 to those cases where one could reasonably exclude any subsequent resumption of hostilities, it should have said so. Since it did not add to article 118, paragraph 1, any qualification, it can only be concluded that the obligation to repatriate the prisoners of war applies as soon as military operations have been suspended by an armistice or a cease-fire agreement of indefinite duration, setting aside any other consideration. The effect of any other interpretation of the expression "cessation of active hostilities" would be to confer on the parties to the conflict a freedom of appreciation which the 1949 Conference did not intend to give them.

We do not claim to decide between those two interpretations, the one calling upon the circumstances surrounding the drafting of article 118, paragraph 1, and the other resting basically on the actual wording of that article.

Besides, it was not the purpose of this review to make any adverse criticism of Mrs. Shields Delessert's study, but rather to give an account of a work which is the fruit of detailed research, contains a host of extremely useful indications on the law relating to captivity, and deserves to be read with attention by all those taking an interest in the development and application of humanitarian law.

F. Bugnion

EXTRACT FROM THE STATUTES OF
THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS

ADOPTED 21 JUNE 1973

ART. 1. — *International Committee of the Red Cross*

1. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), founded in Geneva in 1863 and formally recognized in the Geneva Conventions and by International Conferences of the Red Cross, shall be an independent organization having its own Statutes.

2. It shall be a constituent part of the International Red Cross.¹

ART. 2. — *Legal Status*

As an association governed by Articles 60 and following of the Swiss Civil Code, the ICRC shall have legal personality.

ART. 3. — *Headquarters and Emblem*

The headquarters of the ICRC shall be in Geneva.

Its emblem shall be a red cross on a white ground. Its motto shall be *Inter arma caritas*.

ART. 4. — *Role*

1. The special role of the ICRC shall be :

- (a) to maintain the fundamental principles of the Red Cross as proclaimed by the XXth International Conference of the Red Cross ;
- (b) to recognize any newly established or reconstituted National Red Cross Society which fulfils the conditions for recognition in force, and to notify other National Societies of such recognition ;
- (c) to undertake the tasks incumbent on it under the Geneva Conventions, to work for the faithful application of these Conventions and to take cognizance of any complaints regarding alleged breaches of the humanitarian Conventions ;

¹ The International Red Cross comprises the National Red Cross Societies, the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League of Red Cross Societies. The term "National Red Cross Societies" includes the Red Crescent Societies and the Red Lion and Sun Society.

- (d) to take action in its capacity as a neutral institution, especially in case of war, civil war or internal strife ; to endeavour to ensure at all times that the military and civilian victims of such conflicts and of their direct results receive protection and assistance, and to serve in humanitarian matters, as an intermediary between the parties ;
- (e) to ensure the operation of the Central Information Agencies provided for in the Geneva Conventions ;
- (f) to contribute, in view of such conflicts, to the preparation and development of medical personnel and medical equipment, in co-operation with the Red Cross organizations, the medical services of the armed forces, and other competent authorities ;
- (g) to work for the continual improvement of humanitarian international law and for the better understanding and diffusion of the Geneva Conventions and to prepare for their possible extension ;
- (h) to accept the mandates entrusted to it by the International Conferences of the Red Cross.

2. The ICRC may also take any humanitarian initiative which comes within its role as a specifically neutral and independent institution and consider any question requiring examination by such an institution.

ART. 6 (first paragraph). — *Membership of the ICRC*

The ICRC shall co-opt its members from among Swiss citizens. It shall comprise fifteen to twenty-five members.

ADDRESSES OF NATIONAL SOCIETIES

- AFGHANISTAN — Afghan Red Crescent, Puli Artan, *Kabul*.
- PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA — Albanian Red Cross, 35, Rruga e Barrikadave, *Tirana*.
- ALGERIA (Democratic and People's Republic) — Algerian Red Crescent Society, 15 bis, Boulevard Mohamed V, *Algiers*.
- ARGENTINA — Argentine Red Cross, H. Yrigoyen 2068, 1089 *Buenos Aires*.
- AUSTRALIA — Australian Red Cross, 122 Flinders Street, *Melbourne 3000*.
- AUSTRIA — Austrian Red Cross, 3 Gusshausstrasse, Postfach 39, *Vienna 4*.
- BAHAMAS — Bahamas Red Cross Society, P.O. Box N 91, *Nassau*.
- BAHRAIN — Bahrain Red Crescent Society, P.O. Box 882, *Manama*.
- BANGLADESH — Bangladesh Red Cross Society, 34, Bangabandhu Avenue, *Dacca 2*.
- PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN — Red Cross of Benin, B.P. 1, *Porto Novo*.
- BELGIUM — Belgian Red Cross, 98 Chaussée de Vleurgat, 1050 *Brussels*.
- BOLIVIA — Bolivian Red Cross, Avenida Simón Bolívar, 1515, *La Paz*.
- BOTSWANA — Botswana Red Cross Society, Independence Avenue, P.O. Box 485, *Gaborone*.
- BRAZIL — Brazilian Red Cross, Praça Cruz Vermelha 10-12, *Rio de Janeiro*.
- BULGARIA — Bulgarian Red Cross, 1, Boul. Biruzov, *Sofia 27*.
- BURMA (Socialist Republic of the Union of) — Burma Red Cross, 42 Strand Road, Red Cross Building, *Rangoon*.
- BURUNDI — Red Cross Society of Burundi, rue du Marché 3, P.O. Box 324, *Bujumbura*.
- CAMEROON — Cameroon Red Cross Society, rue Henry-Dunant, P.O.B. 631, *Yaoundé*.
- CANADA — Canadian Red Cross, 95 Wellesley Street East, *Toronto, Ontario, M4Y 1H6*.
- CENTRAL AFRICAN EMPIRE — Central African Red Cross, B.P. 1428, *Bangui*.
- CHILE — Chilean Red Cross, Avenida Santa María 0150, Correo 21, Casilla 246V., *Santiago*.
- CHINA — Red Cross Society of China, 22 Kanmien Hutung, *Peking, E*.
- COLOMBIA — Colombian Red Cross, Carrera 7a, 34-65, Apartado nacional 1110, *Bogotá D.E.*
- CONGO, PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF THE — Croix-Rouge Congolaise, place de la Paix, *Brazzaville*.
- COSTA RICA — Costa Rican Red Cross, Calle 14, Avenida 8, Apartado 1025, *San José*.
- CUBA — Cuban Red Cross, Calle 23 201 esq. N. Vedado, *Havana*.
- CZECHOSLOVAKIA — Czechoslovak Red Cross, Thunovska 18, 118 04 *Prague 1*.
- DENMARK — Danish Red Cross, Ny Vestergade 17, DK-1741 *Copenhagen K*.
- DOMINICAN REPUBLIC — Dominican Red Cross, Apartado Postal 1293, *Santo Domingo*.
- ECUADOR — Ecuadorian Red Cross, Calle de la Cruz Roja y Avenida Colombia, 118, *Quito*.
- EGYPT (Arab Republic of) — Egyptian Red Crescent Society, 34 rue Ramses, *Cairo*.
- EL SALVADOR — El Salvador Red Cross, 3a Avenida Norte y 3a Calle Poniente, *San Salvador, C.A.*
- ETHIOPIA — Ethiopian Red Cross, Ras Desta Damtew Avenue, *Addis Ababa*.
- FIJI — Fiji Red Cross Society, 193 Rodwell Road, P.O. Box 569, *Suva*.
- FINLAND — Finnish Red Cross, Tehtaankatu 1 A, Box 168, 00141 *Helsinki 14/15*.
- FRANCE — French Red Cross, 17 rue Quentin Bauchart, F-75384 *Paris CEDEX 08*.
- GAMBIA — The Gambia Red Cross Society, P.O. Box 472, *Banjul*.
- GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC — German Red Cross in the German Democratic Republic, Kaitzerstrasse 2, DDR 801 *Dresden 1*.
- GERMANY, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF — German Red Cross in the Federal Republic of Germany, Friedrich-Ebert-Allee 71, 5300, *Bonn 1*, Postfach (D.B.R.).
- GHANA — Ghana Red Cross, National Headquarters, Ministries Annex A3, P.O. Box 835, *Accra*.
- GREECE — Hellenic Red Cross, rue Lycavittou 1, *Athens 135*.
- GUATEMALA — Guatemalan Red Cross, 3a Calle 8-40, Zona 1, *Ciudad de Guatemala*.
- GUYANA — Guyana Red Cross, P.O. Box 351, Eve Leary, *Georgetown*.
- HAITI — Haiti Red Cross, Place des Nations Unies, B.P. 1337, *Port-au-Prince*.
- HONDURAS — Honduran Red Cross, 7a Calle, 1a y 2a Avenidas, *Comayagüela, D.M.*
- HUNGARY — Hungarian Red Cross, V. Arany János utca 31, *Budapest V*, Mail Add.: 1367 *Budapest 5*, Pf. 249.
- ICELAND — Icelandic Red Cross, Nóatúni 21, *Reykjavik*.
- INDIA — Indian Red Cross, 1 Red Cross Road, *New Delhi 110001*.
- INDONESIA — Indonesian Red Cross, Jalan Abdul Muis 66, P.O. Box 2009, *Djakarta*.
- IRAN — Iranian Red Lion and Sun Society, Av. Villa, Carrefour Takhté Djamchid, *Teheran*.
- IRAQ — Iraqi Red Crescent, Al-Mansour, *Baghdad*.
- IRELAND — Irish Red Cross, 16 Merrion Square, *Dublin 2*.
- ITALY — Italian Red Cross, 12 via Toscana, *Rome*.
- IVORY COAST — Ivory Coast Red Cross Society, B.P. 1244, *Abidjan*.
- JAMAICA — Jamaica Red Cross Society, 76 Arnold Road, *Kingston 5*.
- JAPAN — Japanese Red Cross, 1-3 Shiba-Daimon 1-chome, Minato-Ku, *Tokyo 105*.
- JORDAN — Jordan National Red Crescent Society, P.O. Box 10 001, *Amman*.
- KENYA — Kenya Red Cross Society, St. John's Gate, P.O. Box 40712, *Nairobi*.
- KOREA, DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF — Red Cross Society of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, *Pyeongyang*.
- KOREA, REPUBLIC OF — The Republic of Korea National Red Cross, 32-3Ka Nam San-Dong, *Seoul*.
- KUWAIT — Kuwait Red Crescent Society, P.O. Box 1350, *Kuwait*.
- LAO PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC — Lao Red Cross, P.B. 650, *Vientiane*.
- LEBANON — Lebanese Red Cross, rue Spears, *Beirut*.
- LESOTHO — Lesotho Red Cross Society, P.O. Box 366, *Maseru*.

- LIBERIA** — Liberian National Red Cross, National Headquarters, 107 Lynch Street, P.O. Box 226, *Monrovia*.
- LIBYAN ARAB JAMAHIRIYA** — Libyan Arab Red Crescent, P.O. Box 541, *Benghazi*.
- LIECHTENSTEIN** — Liechtenstein Red Cross, *Vaduz*.
- LUXEMBOURG** — Luxembourg Red Cross, Parc de la Ville, C.P. 404, *Luxembourg*.
- MALAGASY REPUBLIC** — Red Cross Society of the Malagasy Republic, rue Clémenceau, P.O. Box 1168, *Antananarivo*.
- MALAWI** — Malawi Red Cross, Hall Road, *Blantyre* (P.O. Box 30080, Chichiri, *Blantyre* 3).
- MALAYSIA** — Malaysian Red Crescent Society, 519 Jalan Belfield, *Kuala Lumpur* 08-03.
- MALI** — Mali Red Cross, B.P. 280, *Bamako*.
- MAURITANIA** — Mauritanian Red Crescent Society, B.P. 344, Avenue Gamal Abdel Nasser, *Nouakchott*.
- MAURITIUS** — Mauritius Red Cross, Ste Thérèse Street, *Curepipe*.
- MEXICO** — Mexican Red Cross, Avenida Ejército Nacional n° 1032, *México 10 D.F.*
- MONACO** — Red Cross of Monaco, 27 boul. de Suisse, *Monte Carlo*.
- MONGOLIA** — Red Cross Society of the Mongolian People's Republic, Central Post Office, Post Box 537, *Ulan Bator*.
- MOROCCO** — Moroccan Red Crescent, B.P. 189, *Rabat*.
- NEPAL** — Nepal Red Cross Society, Tahachal, P.B. 217, *Kathmandu*.
- NETHERLANDS** — Netherlands Red Cross, 27 Prinsessegracht, *The Hague*.
- NEW ZEALAND** — New Zealand Red Cross, Red Cross House, 14 Hill Street, *Wellington 1*. (P.O. Box 12-140, *Wellington North*.)
- NICARAGUA** — Nicaraguan Red Cross, D.N. Apartado 3279, *Managua*.
- NIGER** — Red Cross Society of Niger, B.P. 386, *Niamey*.
- NIGERIA** — Nigerian Red Cross Society, Eko Aketa Close, off St. Gregory Rd., P.O. Box 764, *Lagos*.
- NORWAY** — Norwegian Red Cross, Parkveien 33b, *Oslo*. Mail Add.: *Postboks 7034 H-Oslo 3*.
- PAKISTAN** — Pakistan Red Crescent Society, National Headquarters, 169, Sarwar Road, *Rawalpindi*.
- PANAMA** — Panamanian Red Cross, Apartado Postal 668, Zona 1, *Panamá*.
- PARAGUAY** — Paraguayan Red Cross, Brasil 216, *Asunción*.
- PERU** — Peruvian Red Cross, Jirón Chancay 881, *Lima*.
- PHILIPPINES** — Philippine National Red Cross, 860 United Nations Avenue, P.O.B. 280, *Manila 2801*.
- POLAND** — Polish Red Cross, Mokotowska 14, *Warsaw*.
- PORTUGAL** — Portuguese Red Cross, Jardim 9 Abril, 1 a 5, *Lisbon 3*.
- ROMANIA** — Red Cross of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Strada Biserica Amzei 29, *Bucarest*.
- SAN MARINO** — San Marino Red Cross, Palais gouvernemental, *San Marino*.
- SAUDI ARABIA** — Saudi Arabian Red Crescent, *Riyadh*.
- SENEGAL** — Senegalese Red Cross Society, Bd Franklin-Roosevelt, P.O.B. 299, *Dakar*.
- SIERRA LEONE** — Sierra Leone Red Cross Society, 6A Liverpool Street, P.O.B. 427, *Freetown*.
- SINGAPORE** — Singapore Red Cross Society, 15 Penang Lane, *Singapore 9*.
- SOMALIA (DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC)** — Somali Red Crescent Society, P.O. Box 937, *Mogadishu*.
- SOUTH AFRICA** — South African Red Cross, Cor. Kruijs & Market Streets, P.O.B. 8726, *Johannesburg 2001*.
- SPAIN** — Spanish Red Cross, Eduardo Dato 16, *Madrid 10*.
- SRI LANKA** — Sri Lanka Red Cross Society, 106 Dharmapala Mawatha, *Colombo 7*.
- SUDAN** — Sudanese Red Crescent, P.O. Box 235, *Khartoum*.
- SWEDEN** — Swedish Red Cross, Fack, S-104 40 *Stockholm 14*.
- SWITZERLAND** — Swiss Red Cross, Taubenstrasse 8, B.P. 2699, *3001 Berne*.
- SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC** — Syrian Red Crescent, Bd Mahdi Ben Barake, *Damascus*.
- TANZANIA** — Tanzania Red Cross Society, Upanga Road, P.O.B. 1133, *Dar es Salaam*.
- THAILAND** — Thai Red Cross Society, Paribatra Building, Chulalongkorn Memorial Hospital, *Bangkok*.
- TOGO** — Togolese Red Cross Society, 51 rue Boko Soga, P.O. Box 655, *Lomé*.
- TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO** — Trinidad and Tobago Red Cross Society, Wrightson Road West, P.O. Box 357, *Port of Spain*, Trinidad, West Indies.
- TUNISIA** — Tunisian Red Crescent, 19 rue d'Angleterre, *Tunis*.
- TURKEY** — Turkish Red Crescent, Yenisehir, *Ankara*.
- UGANDA** — Uganda Red Cross, Nabunya Road, P.O. Box 494, *Kampala*.
- UNITED KINGDOM** — British Red Cross, 9 Grosvenor Crescent, *London, SW1X 7EJ*.
- UPPER VOLTA** — Upper Volta Red Cross, P.O.B. 340, *Ouagadougou*.
- URUGUAY** — Uruguayan Red Cross, Avenida 8 de Octubre 2990, *Montevideo*.
- U.S.A.** — American National Red Cross, 17th and D Streets, N.W., *Washington, D.C. 20006*.
- U.S.S.R.** — Alliance of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, I. Tcheremushkinskii proezd 5, *Moscow 117036*.
- VENEZUELA** — Venezuelan Red Cross, Avenida Andrés Bello No. 4, Apart. 3185, *Caracas*.
- VIET NAM, SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF** — Red Cross of Viet Nam, 68 rue Bà-Triệu, *Hanoi*.
- YUGOSLAVIA** — Red Cross of Yugoslavia, Simina ulica broj 19, *Belgrade*.
- REPUBLIC OF ZAIRE** — Red Cross of the Republic of Zaire, 41 av. de la Justice, B.P. 1712, *Kinshasa*.
- ZAMBIA** — Zambia Red Cross, P.O. Box R.W.1, 2837 Brentwood Drive, *Lusaka*.